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Editorial

THE Bishop of Rochester's article on "Priests and Frequent Communion" brought us a large number of interesting letters, some of considerable length. It would be impracticable to publish them all, and despite their variety there is naturally a good deal of overlapping. It has therefore seemed best to take account in an editorial of the various points that were made in the letters as a whole, quoting freely from them. But because we do not think it proper to quote extracts from letters of *named* correspondents (since they may reasonably wish to be quoted in full or not at all), we shall distinguish our correspondents by letters of the alphabet. Except where otherwise indicated, they are parish priests.

To begin with, it should be said that nearly all our correspondents express warm gratitude to the Bishop of Rochester for calling attention to the problem created by the fact that parish priests are now generally expected to celebrate the holy communion more than once on the same day. At the same time, with one exception, no one agrees with the Bishop's proposed remedy for this state of affairs, namely that a celebrant need not himself communicate a second time when he celebrates again on the same day. No one, however, disputes the Bishop's contention that the Convocations' decision to deal with the matter merely by lifting a clause from Canon XXI (1603) was unsatisfactory.

Most correspondents abstain from comment on the historical and theological prolegomena in the Bishop's article, and confine themselves to a discussion of practical aspects of his proposed remedy for the problem. Some, however, expressed doubts about the prolegomena. J. writes: "At a guess it would seem that the basic reason for the original rule in the Church was the repression of pride. The rule of not more than one communion a day (for clergy and laity alike) was made presumably to prevent any attempt on the part of the clergy to enhance their personal prestige (at a time when clergy were numerous), and on the part of the laity to prevent that exhibitionist devotion which is a temptation to so many good people. . . . In a letter it is impossible even to attempt to trace the motives behind the prohibitions of too frequent communion from the 4th to 18th centuries, except to note that from the 12th century at least priests were numerous and lay communion infrequent. In fact I believe that the situation is even newer than the Bishop of Rochester says. At this moment there appear to be fewer clergy in proportion to a greater number of lay communicants than at any time in the previous history of the Church."

L, who is on the staff of a theological college, says: "I do not understand the Bishop's argument on the canon of Langton. I cannot believe that he has understood it aright."

F, who is a Roman Catholic priest, writes: "You will forgive me if I protest against the Bishop's account of 'the Roman Catholic view' of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (p. 326). Certainly there was a school of theology dating from the 16th to 17th centuries which sought to explain the Eucharistic Sacrifice in terms of some fresh immolation of Christ in the Mass, and if this theory of the Mass is what the XXIst Article of Religion was concerned to repudiate, well and good: it is not the point here; but surely since the work of de la Taille and others in our own century that theory is all over and done with. The Catholic view of the Eucharist would in fact include elements both of what Dr Chavasse puts forward as 'a widely held Anglo-Catholic view', and as 'the Evangelical view'." F also calls in question Dr Chavasse's use of the distinction between a "sacramental" and a "spiritual" reception of the Eucharist.

But, as we have said, most correspondents proceed straight to the discussion of practical methods of dealing with the contemporary problem. Some agree with the Bishop in regarding the multiplication of celebrations as nowadays inevitable, and they consider that it is an advantage to the priest that he has himself to communicate at the later celebrations. Thus E, a school chaplain, says: "Speaking from my own experience, I have always found that when I have had to celebrate several times on the same day the greatest safeguard against drifting into a hurried and thoughtless recitation has been the knowledge that on each occasion I am about to receive my Saviour once more in the Blessed Sacrament. It is my communion that puts me on my mettle." And B: "It seems to me that the recollection that I was myself to communicate has done more than anything else to keep me up to the mark when I have had to multiply celebrations." H writes: "If a priest has to celebrate more than once, then surely he may confidently put himself into the hands of the Lord he serves, and be not over anxious, as the Bishop appears to be, about the amount of spiritual feeling he is able to muster at each celebration. God gives grace to us each time we communicate, and as long as we respond to the best of our limited abilities, we need not be distressed." Several correspondents take exception to what Dr Chavasse said about the act of communion being a "thrill" or a "treat". For example, J: "Our Lord never said or implied that he was a 'treat'. He did say: 'I am the bread of life.' Bread is a thing which may be taken several times in a day without excess, and all of us tend to undervalue it every time we take it. What is true of our daily bread is likely to be true of the Bread from Heaven. . . . Why is frequent communion any more dangerous than frequent prayer or frequent Bible reading? In all these there is the risk of undue familiarity with holy things. I do not see in what essential point one differs from the other. . . . We do not make anything more holy by a less frequent use of it."

Several correspondents, however, observe that the real problem to which the Bishop of Rochester has called attention is the multiplication of *celebrations* of holy communion. G notes that "the Offertory and the Consecration are equally important acts, together with the Communion, in the whole action of the Eucharist". "Is it suggested,"

he asks, "that the Offertory and the Consecration can be repeated with attention and devotion, perhaps many times in one day, whereas this is not possible with regard to the Communion?" The logical inference of the Bishop's argument, says B, "is surely something which he is very far from intending—that, provided the celebrant does not receive the holy communion, it does not matter vastly that he should be inwardly stale and outwardly formal in administering it".

These correspondents therefore urge that the only satisfactory remedy would be one that does not require a priest to celebrate more than once a day, apart from quite exceptional circumstances. M, a bishop, who has had forty years' experience of the church overseas, writes: "I would venture to raise the question whether it is right for a priest ever to celebrate the holy communion more than once in a day except possibly, and under due authority, at Christmas and on Easter day. I am really aghast at the multiplication of services in our churches in England. The multiplication of celebrations of holy communion seems to me to bring with it two very serious consequences. (1) It entirely destroys the basic and vital apprehension of the fact that at the eucharist the members of one Family meet together at the Father's table and share together in the Feast provided by the Father. In and by that Feast they are knit to each other and to God so that they can go forth to give the world the pattern of community life which it so sadly needs. How can people who communicate at different services, arranged at times convenient to them, ever realize that the name of the service, the Holy Fellowship, is also to be the name of the life Christian people are to live in common? (2) Repeated celebrations on one day impose upon the clergy an intolerable spiritual strain which, in my humble opinion, no bishop should permit his clergy to bear. . . . The present 'set-up' regarding services in England appears to me as a definite hindrance to the preaching of the Gospel. I do not believe that any bishop in what is known as the 'Mission Field' would tolerate it."

D, making the same point, remarks that "multiplication of celebrations has come about, thanks to the welcome revival in sacramental devotion, to meet three needs: (*a*) the provision of a wide variety of times for communion (there is a church near here in a parish of 9,000 which every Sunday has communions at 7, 8, 9.30 and 10.30 a.m. with one at 12.15 p.m. as well on the great festivals); (*b*) the joining together of two or more parishes; (*c*) private communion of the sick". He maintains that "in all these cases very much more than has yet been achieved could be done to unify the sacramental life". (*a*) It would be to the spiritual good of the separate congregations of communicants in one parish if they could be persuaded to coalesce. A unification by making the Parish Communion *the* service of the day is the norm which should be aimed at rather than the remedy proposed by the Bishop of Rochester. (*b*) In country parishes that have been joined together, the practice, already adopted with success in some places, of collecting worshippers from an adjacent parish in a "church bus" should be more widely employed. (*c*) With regard to private communions, D says: "With a minimum

of inconvenience and spiritual strain, the priest can take the Reserved Sacrament to the sick at whatever unusual hour suits them best, and at the great festivals administer to many individuals in one morning. The shortness of the service of administration is suitable to the sick-room, and the knowledge that a person is receiving the Elements which have been consecrated at an 'open communion' in church (at which, probably, some friends or relatives were present) should be a far stronger link with the rest of the Church on earth than the 'feeling' which the Bishop mentions. At the first time of proposing to take the Reserved Sacrament to a sick person, I always make this point, and find that it is invariably a help to the communicant." D adds that, if there remain occasions when at least a second celebration is essential, "the reading of alternative lections and prayers is almost the only remaining way to keep spiritual freshness".

Other parish priests, too, urge the advantages of communicating the sick from the Reserved Sacrament, but C, the only sick person we have heard from, welcomes the Bishop of Rochester's proposal and writes as follows: "There are many lay-people who are, like myself, crippled by ill-health after having been frequent communicants for 40–50 years. We receive communion more or less regularly from the Reserved Sacrament, but as we can never go to church we are deprived altogether of the atmosphere of awe and mystery which comes in and through the prayer of Consecration and is not dependent on any externals. It is a great spiritual and mental strain to hold on to the reality of our Lord's sacramental presence when the Consecration is, so to speak, remote, and this strain can produce physical exhaustion which hinders the spirit still further. The Prayer Book gives me the right to a 'complete Mass', and two priests have offered me the opportunity, but I could not accept it, as each had a daily Mass in his own church and would have had to celebrate twice and keep his fast until noon. If that difficulty were removed a service which included the Consecration might be given to invalids two or three times a year (*not* at festival seasons) and would revive and reinforce the sense of the supernatural which in long continued pain and weakness is all too often absent."

Some of those who urge that the norm should be only one celebration a day in a parish suggest that communion from the Reserved Sacrament would meet the needs of those who cannot be present at the parish communion, as well as of the sick. Thus A writes: "If we are to celebrate once only on the same day, I would suggest that the Eucharist be celebrated at the hour when most communicants are present in church, and that at other times people be communicated at a short service consisting of the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the day, Communion devotions and the Prayer of Thanksgiving."

Another objection to the Bishop of Rochester's proposal concerns the consumption of what remains of the consecrated elements at celebrations at which on his view the celebrant would not consume them. For instance, K writes: "If the celebrant is not communicating, then he must call upon certain of the communicants to receive the Blessed Sacrament a second time. Doubtless in many churches

this would mean that the server would be called upon to do so, for, apart from other considerations, there is the practical difficulty of calling communicants from 'the body of the kirk' again to the altar rails. Would not that be to impose a grave strain on perhaps a young and inexperienced server?" Likewise with regard to private celebrations for the sick, L asks: "Is the sick person to be asked to consume all or are the remains to be taken back to church and reserved till the next day when there is communion? The celebrant should consume the remains; lay folk should not be put to this strain on devout communicating; the presbyters should bear the burden of these difficulties."

Last but not least, only one or two correspondents make the point that, as B puts it, "the Bishop has laid his finger on one of the many ways in which the Church of England is, by its policy of maintaining by whatever shifts as close as possible an approximation to a swiftly receding past, deadening its present parish clergy. . . .When ordination to the priesthood ceases to be restricted to full-time professional clergy, there will be enough priests" to provide as many celebrations as are necessary. Our own view, for what it is worth, is that it is along this line that the solution of the problem should be sought. Meanwhile, instead of, or at least as an alternative to, the Bishop's proposal, we should favour an extended use of the Reserved Sacrament.

In the next issue of THEOLOGY, the Bishop of Rochester will have an opportunity of commenting on these reactions to his article.

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At the end of another year we are glad to be able to report that the circulation of THEOLOGY continues steadily to increase, but we believe we have still many potential readers awaiting an introduction. May we once more suggest that a year's subscription (only 12s., post free) makes a good Christmas present? In the index to Volume LVIII, supplied with this issue, we have for the first time specified all books of which "Shorter Notices" have been published, since we believe this will substantially increase the usefulness of the index for reference purposes.

The Marian Martyrs[1]

Hebrews 10. 39: But we are not of them that draw back unto perdition; but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul.

Hebrews 11. 13, 40: These all died in faith; not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar. . . . God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.

ON 16th October 1555, four hundred years ago to-day, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to the place

[1] A sermon preached in Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge

where they were to suffer death by burning, "upon the north-side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college". Ridley, as the martyrologist Foxe related, came first, "going between the mayor and an alderman", and dressed in a "fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake". Behind him came the venerable septuagenarian Latimer "in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet". As they passed towards the Bocardo prison, Ridley looked for a glimpse of Thomas Cranmer, but was unrewarded. "Then master Ridley, looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, 'Oh, be ye there?' 'Yes,' said master Latimer, 'have after as fast as I can follow.' " When they came to the place of execution, the grim preliminaries were discharged; they were stripped of their outer garments; the iron chain was made fast around their waist; and the bags of gunpowder affixed around their neck. As the fire was kindled Latimer spoke the immortal words: "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." Ridley, when he saw the fire flaming up towards him, "cried with a wonderful voice, In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum. Domine, recipe spiritum meum. And after, repeated this latter part often in English, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit; master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, 'O Father of heaven, receive my soul', who received the flame as it were embracing of it." So they perished; Latimer with a merciful rapidity and "with very little pain or none", Ridley with exquisite torture as the fire "burned clean all his nether parts before it once touched the upper"; and he was only relieved from the physical agony when the flame reached the gunpowder and "he was seen to stir no more". It is proper and fitting that on this quatercentenary of their death we should remember them; and nowhere more appropriately than in the University Church of this Cambridge, to which Ridley paid so touching a tribute: "Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. . . . I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws and the sincere gospel of Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee."

Ridley and Latimer were not the first, nor yet the last, to perish for the cause of the English reformation during the reign of Mary Tudor. John Rogers had been burned at Smithfield on 4th February previously; and he was to be followed shortly by Laurence Saunders on the 8th at Coventry, John Hooper at Gloucester on the 9th and on the same day Rowland Taylor at Aldham Common. Moreover, the most famous figure of all, Thomas Cranmer was reserved for the full process of Roman judicial condemnation; and, like Ridley and Latimer, was executed at Oxford outside the city wall in the town

ditch opposite Balliol on 21st March 1556. The last hours of that memorable episode also belong to the imperishable tradition of our history; his recantation and his dramatic repudiation of it in the university church; and his hurried conveyance to the place of execution; where "when the wood was kindled and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so stedfast and immoveable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched". Nor should we forget that the Marian persecution engulfed many lowly and humble men of heart, and women too, who had never trodden the pleasant groves of Academe nor the perilous paths of royal courts; yet who likewise witnessed a good confession. They also out of weakness were made strong, had trial of cruel bonds and imprisonment, and were slain by fire and sword; of whom the world was not worthy. Others died in prison whilst awaiting a swifter despatch than that of disease, filth and strait usage; of whom Thomas Fuller avowed that he did not know in what category properly to place them. "Some perchance will account it too high to rank them amongst martyrs; and surely I conceive it too low to esteem them but bare confessors. The best is, the heraldry of heaven knows how to marshal them in the place of dignity due unto them, where long since they have received the reward of their patience."

But whilst all these have their part in our remembrance, we are in private duty bound the more especially to commemorate those who were of this university. As Dr Rupp has observed, "there is reason to single out the Cambridge men from among them. Members of this University played a coherent part in the making of the English Protestant tradition. At least twenty-five of them were executed in as many years, all of some standing, some of pre-eminent distinction. One may wonder whether any other university in Europe could make this contemporary claim." It may be permitted to one whose membership of this university is by adoption and grace to add his own confession, that it can only be the inveterate modesty of its ecclesiastical historians which has prevented them long since from claiming for the English reformation the title of "the Cambridge Movement", alike in its early phases under Henry VIII and Edward VI and in its later (and more variegated) flowering under Elizabeth I. Only some thirty years divided the gatherings at the White Horse Inn at Cambridge nicknamed "Little Germany", from the martyrdoms at Oxford; and Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer figured prominently in both episides. It was indeed but a short journey which converted the goodly fellowship of the prophets into the noble army of the martyrs. "Comparisons, I know, are odious," wrote Fuller, "and the more when made betwixt persons of eminency; however, to such as peruse the whole story, these proportions will appear true: Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper[1]

[1] John Hooper was indubitably an Oxford man.

of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart. Oh, the variety of these several instruments! Oh, their joint harmony in a consort to God's glory!"

Even at this distance of time, mention should be made of the fortitude and physical courage displayed by these confessors. For although the 16th century lacked the refinements of torture characteristic of our more civilized era, it was a harsh and cruel age. Not all the martyrs had the speedy end of Latimer. For when clumsiness was added to cruelty, some suffered protracted agonies before death gave them a merciful release. Hooper endured three-quarters of an hour, whilst the fire was thrice kindled, and the bladders of gunpowder burst and the wind scattered their contents; and he cried repeatedly meantime: "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire." Ridley, too, was long in dying, because too many faggots had been laid so that the flame did not spread. Others suffered divers pains; so that amongst so many martyrs it was little surprising that "all who met at last in final constancy manifested not equal intermediate cheerfulness; some were more stout, bold and resolute; others more faint, fearful and timorous". But all endured as seeing him who is invisible; and many also had refused to purchase their lives by flight; even as Hooper declared that he came "not as one enforced or compelled to die; but as one willing to offer and give his life for the truth".

This granted, we may apply to our present occasion the poet laureate's lines from *Good Friday*:

> Friend, it is over now,
> The passion, the sweat, the pains,
> Only the truth remains.

What, then, is the truth about the Marian persecutions, and how stands the cause for which the leaders of the English Reformation died? In the 16th century the belief was general that political unity was impossible without religious uniformity; nor did the reformation contribute to the abandonment of persecution as an instrument of religious persuasion save only gradually and indirectly. But Mandell Creighton, in his Hulsean Lectures delivered in this place just over sixty years ago on *Persecution and Tolerance*, drew a distinction in this respect between Protestant and Roman Catholic. "On whatever religious grounds persecution might be justified in Protestant states, it was practised from political expediency; and of this the state, not the church, was the judge. . . . In Roman Catholic countries persecution hardened into a necessary principle, which no man might question. In Protestant countries it was a matter of national policy." But if persecution was endemic in 16th-century Europe, the Marian burnings were particularly odious. It was not only their number, an average of seventy to eighty a year, nor even their arbitrary incidence; but most especially their revolting character from a religious and ethical standpoint. Of this no testimony is more striking than that of the most recent Roman Catholic historian of the English reformation. Fr Philip Hughes indeed, like Macbeth, cannot avoid being

haunted by the spectre of murder. "In this respect alone, namely of so many executions for this particular offence in so short a time, the event is a thing apart in English history; never before, nor ever since, was there anything at all quite like it; and in the general history of religious persecution, the Marian chapter is singular in other important respects." Indeed, he reflects further, "in few things is the sickness of the last generation of English medieval catholicism so evident and so marked, it seems to me, as in the conduct of these heresy prosecutions". Not all the perfumes of Arabia can cleanse his hand after it has discharged its duty of recording them. His final verdict on the sombre episode, which he designates "the real wickedness of the Marian policy", is that "it is a terrible severity; . . . and because the country where it is exercised has lapsed so far from the state of things for which the severity was devised, . . . the severity has lost whatever justification it ever possessed". Nothing can testify more plainly of the iniquity of the holocaust than the ubiquitously troubled conscience of this 20th-century Roman Catholic historian.

But there remains the question of the cause for which the martyrs died. "Sir," observed Dr Johnson, "the only method by which religious truth can be established is by martyrdom. The magistrate has a right to enforce what he thinks; and he who is conscious of the truth, has a right to suffer. I am afraid there is no other way of ascertaining the truth, but by persecution on the one hand and enduring it on the other." Yet the fact of endurance of oppression is in itself no proof of the truth of a belief. What then must we say of the Reformation, for which so many of its leaders perished at the stake? It is unnecessary at this distance of time to iterate the thrice-told tale of the universal recognition for more than a century before the storm of rebellion broke, of the imperative necessity for reform of the medieval church *tam in capite quam in membris*. Contemporaries were well aware of the need, and modern historical study has amply documented the fact. But the demand for reform was not confined to the purging of the church of abuses and corruption in financial, judicial and administrative affairs. Even the most cursory reading of the examinations of Ridley, Latimer and Cranmer will make plain that they were not burned on points of pluralism, dispensations or the law's delay. The Reformation was a reconstruction of doctrine and liturgy; and it was for their work in these fields that they were called to account. For, as Foxe and Fuller alike testified, "the sacrament of the altar was the main touchstone to discover the protestants; on this point the examiners pinched most". Amongst the charges preferred against Ridley and Latimer were that they had maintained "that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar"; and "that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead". The crucial issues of Transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass therefore they neither could nor would evade. And Cranmer's final defiance in his recantation was that "as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before

the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face".

It would seem, indeed, that modern exegetes have found Cranmer's exposition of this "true doctrine of the sacrament" to possess less than his wonted perspicacity. But there can be no dubiety about Ridley's answers to his interrogators. "If you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament." He allowed "a certain change", namely "that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body; and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body". Yet "notwithstanding this sacramental mutation . . . the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth". Likewise in regard to the sacrifice of the Mass, he would grant only that the communion is "an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving". It should be remembered, moreover, that the reformers had direct and immediate experience of an age in which, as a sympathetic modern critic has written, "the popular view of the Mass was distinctly mechanical. The tenor of wills and anecdotes shews unmistakably that the layman was taught to believe that he could increase the effect of Eucharistic prayers by the simple process of multiplying them or making them more elaborate. The benefits which the living and the dead received, varied in direct proportion with the number and magnificence of the Masses said." Not unnaturally there resulted from this "widespread belief in the quantitative, assignable and so marketable value" of the Mass, an equally widespread contempt of the priesthood and revulsion from the Mass itself. Hence the determination of the reformers to turn the Mass into a Communion, to destroy the belief in its propitiatory sacrificial character, to provide for the use of the vulgar tongue in its celebration, to restore the chalice to the laity, and to turn bishops and presbyters into preaching and pastoral ministers instead of sacrificing priests.

Their two chief instruments to this end were the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. For the public reading of the Bible in the vernacular was designed to produce both a clergy who "by often readyinge and meditacion of Godde's woorde should be stirred up to godlynesse themselves and be more able also to exhorte other by wholesome doctrine"; and also a people who "by dayly hearinge of holye scripture read in the Churche should continuallye profyte more and more in the knowledge of God and be the more inflamed with the loue of hys true religion". In like manner the Book of Common Prayer was to be in "such language spoken to the people in the Church as thei might understand and have profit by hearing the same". But the Bible was not only a devotional book for public reading in church and private use at home. It was also the standard of doctrine; and the clergy were ordered "to teach nothing in their sermons to be held and believed by the people save that which is

agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament and that which the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that doctrine". In similar terms the Articles of Religion declared that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or thought requisite or necessary to salvation". For "although the Church be a witness and keeper of holy Writ, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of Salvation". These were the foundations upon which the reformers built; and by so building, in the measured words of Gwatkin, they "did a great work and made possible a greater. They set the church in the right way, with its face towards the heavenly city and its back to the city of destruction. Whether we appeal to scripture or to history, there is but one conclusion. . . . We are only now beginning to enter on the good land which was opened to us by the reformation."

"And now," concluded Fuller, "to take our leaves of those martyrs, what remains but: 1. That we glorify God in and for their patience, who had given such power unto men; 2. That we praise God that true doctrine at this day may be professed at an easier rate than in that age; 3. That we embrace and defend that doctrine which they sealed with their lives; and, as occasion shall be offered, to vindicate and assert their memories from such scandalous tongues and pens as have or shall traduce them." The first requirement we may easily and gladly fulfil; confessing that in them tribulation worketh patience, and patience, probation, and probation, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed. But the second must needs give us pause. For one of the circumstances which makes this commemoration no mere exercise in recollection "of old, unhappy far-off things, and battles long ago", is the contemporary situation, in which day by day Christians are witnessing the like good confession for their faith in divers parts of the world. Throughout the vast regions dominated to-day by the totalitarian states of Europe and Asia, martyrs are being added daily to the number of the saints. Nor is the *expertise* of cruelty perfected by our more scientific age (as illustrated in *When Iron Gates Yield*, the story of communist persecution of a fundamentalist British missionary in Tibet) insufficient to fill up whatsoever is yet lacking in the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake which is the church. It would be hazardous, moreover, to comfort ourselves with the assurance that the virus of intolerance has been entirely expelled from the church, or that it may not find lodging once again within our own body politic. Tolerance, as Creighton justly observed more than half a century ago and as subsequent experience has abundantly testified, "rests at present mainly on an equilibrium of forces which might easily be upset. There is always a temptation to the possessors of power—be they an individual, an institution, or class—to use it selfishly or harshly. Liberty is a tender plant and needs jealous watching. It is always unsafe in the world, and is only secure under the guardianship of the church; for the church possesses the knowledge of man's eternal destiny which alone

can justify his claim to freedom." But the church must first learn the lesson before it can teach it to the world; and must renounce the weapon of coercion as a means of propagating its faith.

And finally, in embracing and defending their doctrine, we must recognize that the work which they inaugurated was not a thing perfect and finished once for all, so as to be incapable of further development. Indeed, if we turn our eyes from the martyrs in England to their brethren then in exile in various reformed churches of Europe, we shall find that their endeavours to preserve "the face of an English church" were by no means incompatible with wide divergence from its pattern as mirrored in the second Edwardine Prayer Book. The story of the *Troubles at Frankfort* and of the Liturgy of Compromise ensuing therefrom, or of John Knox's Genevan Liturgy, serves to show that fidelity to the reformers' ideals was not thought by contemporaries to imply literal adherence to the forms in which they had found expression. Nor may we forget that here also in Cambridge another generation, led by Lancelot Andrewes of Pembroke and John Cosin of Caius, was to develop another facet of Anglican *praxis* on the basis of the Elizabethan revision of the same second Prayer Book of Edward VI. From our vantage point of four centuries of history we can better understand where the reformers failed to achieve the fullness of their hopes, where they saw but through a glass darkly, and where it is our opportunity and responsibility to build further upon the foundation which they laid. For we perceive how their laudable endeavour to turn the Mass into a Communion resulted in replacing it by Matins; thanks to the inveterate conservatism of the laity, no less in Cranmer's England than in Calvin's Geneva, in refusing to make the revolutionary advance from an annual to a weekly communion. Similarly our wider equipment for the study of those Scriptures and Fathers of the Church, to which they made their constant appeal, may enable us to correct their emphases in sundry respects. It is for us to prove ourselves sage scribes, instructed to bring out of our treasure-house things new and old.

And here in Cambridge, for which Ridley offered his farewell suffrage that God's "laws and the sincere gospel of Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned", we must take stock of its fidelity to his charge and to the last words of Latimer. Probably the only qualification of your preacher to-day for the honour of commemorating the Marian martyrs lies in his membership of that religious and Protestant foundation of Emmanuel College, which was established expressly to ensure that the candle lit by their death might never be extinguished amongst us. Nor will the appeal to its history fail to justify its founder's faith and purpose; as it sent forth of its sons, abroad to the Synod of Dort and to the planting of the New England settlements in North America; or at home to the making of the Authorized Version of the English Bible and to the nurture of the glory of 17th-century Anglicanism in the school of Cambridge Platonists. Time indeed would fail me to tell of the contribution of other colleges to the continuance of the martryrs' tradition; of Thomas Cartwright of St John's, of Robert Browne, Robert Harri-

son and John Greenwood of Corpus, of Henry Barrow of Clare, of William Perkins of Christ's, of John Preston of Queens' or of William Whitaker of Trinity; to mention but a few amongst the many persons, places and times. Verily, we,

> who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held,

must needs be their debtors and in some wise also their disciples. So in this quatercentenary of the Marian martyrs, beginning with Rogers at Smithfield on 4 February 1555 and ending with five obscure victims at Canterbury on 10 November 1558, of them we may piously pray *Aeterna fac cum Sanctis tuis in gloria numerari*; and of ourselves we may remember that God hath provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.

NORMAN SYKES.

The Advent and Theological Language

"The Word became flesh and dwelt among us"

IN virtually every department of study at the present time—in philosophy, in science, in poetry, in psychology—the nature and function of language are under debate. In particular men are asking what is the relationship between the careful precision of logical disciplines and the subtleties and sensitivities of ordinary speech. According to a plausible theory there is on the one hand a fund of speech suitable for ordinary daily encounters and for regular community life: on the other hand there are technical terms belonging to each specialized field of study and only those with some training in any particular discipline can be expected to use its terms with any degree of facility. Put more concretely this would imply that whereas there is a large common stock of language belonging to the home and the market place there is in addition a cluster of specialist technical vocabularies belonging respectively to the surgery, the laboratory, the court of justice, the accountant's office, and perhaps even to the church.

That there is much to be said in favour of such a rough-and-ready division of language cannot be denied. When we are away from our profession or business we can meet with all and sundry on common ground: within the office or factory or lecture room, however, a particular technical language, it seems, must be employed. Popular and emotive language can deal with all kinds of subjects at a popular level. But if you wish to engage in exact work at a high level in any of the departments I have mentioned you must be prepared to learn a new language or at least to master a whole set of new concepts.

What then is the situation in regard to theology? Theology can claim to be a scientific discipline of a kind, and it may well be assumed that whereas basic religious teaching can be expressed in the language of the home and the market-place more advanced formulations will require a more technical vocabulary. May it not

be, in fact, that just as anthropology and biology and economics each has its own peculiar vocabulary, so theology naturally must have the same? If this is so, may not the apparent conflicts between theology and biology or between theology and geology have been due to the fact that each was trying in some way to trespass in the other's domain: that each was trying to stretch its own technical vocabulary to deal with concepts which did not really belong to it, and that for this reason confusion and even conflict was bound to ensue?

In the somewhat easier relations which seem to exist at the present time between science and religion, between theology and other academic disciplines, this is the line of reasoning which is often heard. Scientific observation, it is said, is one approach to ultimate realities, artistic sensitivity another, religious experience, pure and simple, another. Or, in the intellectual world, science covers one kind of disciplined inquiry, history another and theology another. There is no need for conflict. At times there may be tension or confusion because of unwitting straying over boundaries, but these border incidents need not be serious if each is willing to respect the other's established rights. Let each approach to reality be recognized as a valid one and let all rejoice in the contribution which each is making to the common good.

That there is much that is attractive in this method of amicable settlement I should gladly allow. Far better to agree in this way than to argue at cross-purposes about questions which are not really the same for each of the contestants. Far better to maintain a state of peaceful co-existence than to engage in armed conflict. Far better to preserve a multiplicity of lanes than have all competitors jostling one another on a too restricted track. All this seems reasonable. Yet it is possible for the theologian to surrender too much. To be content to keep strictly within a delimited area and to employ only the particular language-instruments appropriate to that terrain may mean in effect to renounce his very *raison d'être* and to sign his own death-warrant. It is still true that a God who is not God of all is not God at all.

In particular, the Christian theologian is bound to claim the right of entry into every department of study by reason of the peculiar genius of his own faith. Advent Sunday, standing at the beginning of the Church's year, focuses attention sharply upon a decisive and determinative *entrance*, a *coming*, an Advent. The Christian Gospel and Christian Theology lose their dynamic unless it is true that the Son of God became flesh, entered into history, crossed from the eternal world into the world of here and now. He came into the world. He came to seek and to save: he came unto his own; he was manifested in the flesh: he took the form of a bondslave: now once at the end of the age he hath been manifested to put away sin. The accumulative force of these testimonies is unmistakable. The Son of God came into time: the Word of God was spoken into the human situation: the Light of God shone upon the gloom and darkness of the world. That he came by virtue of a critical and decisive advent has been at the centre of the faith of historical Christianity.

But the implications and indeed the consequences of such a faith

are inescapable. From earliest times the teachers of the Church have been quick to discern that man's view of the material order was bound to be radically affected by the faith that the Son of God had actually assumed human flesh and blood, had become incarnate in bodily form. But, as a modern theologian has pointed out, an even more effective word for our own time might be inhistorization[1] rather than incarnation. It is the faith of the Church that the Son of God actually entered history, thereby profoundly affecting both the historical order and man's interpretation of it. And it is surely impossible to stop even there. An Advent faith cannot be unrelated to any of the sciences which deal with the universe in which man dwells: nor can it be without importance to any of the humanities which deal with the creations of man's social living: nor can it be irrelevant to any of the psychological investigations which deal with the structures of man's inner life. Though each of these disciplines has its particular area of inquiry, they are all in some way related to man in his actual historical existence.

If then the Christ of God really entered into the sphere of humanity, the Gospel which proclaims this Entrance, the Theology which examines the implications of this Entrance, cannot refrain from making its own entrance into every field where man and his existence form the subject of inquiry. It is true that its own entrance must bear some likeness to the pattern of the entrance of the Son of Man: it will be humble, courteous, questioning, though it will also be firm, searching, definite: and it can never be forgotten that at any moment conflict may break out in the way that it did on many occasions in Galilee and ultimately in the supreme tragedy of Jerusalem and Golgotha.

To be more specific, in what kind of way is the entrance of which I have spoken likely to be made? In the first place in and through the adoption of certain language-forms. It is very doubtful whether Christian theology has any right to establish a peculiar vocabulary of its own. Certainly it has no such right in the first instance for the very principle of entrance demands that it shall take on the flesh and blood of already existant language-forms and shall be made in the likeness of a vocabulary already in use. This is not only true in the context where Bible translators and revisers seek to put the Gospel into a language "understanded" of the common people. It is also true in the context where the Christian theologian seeks to relate his Advent-faith to current academic disciplines. He must come to grips with technical terms and seek a way of entrance through an *inverbalization* which is not unrelated to already existing forms and yet which in some way transforms them through the Divine ingression. But whatever may come later, nothing can take the place of the initial identification, the assumption of the embryonic vocabulary which belongs to the discipline with which a relationship is being sought.

In the second place the entrance must be followed by a long period of learning through listening. What Christian theology most needs to

[1] H. H. Farmer. *Revelation and Religion*, pp. 195 f.

hear are the precise questions which are being asked in and through a particular process of inquiry. It is always possible, of course, that men will go on refining their methods and perfecting their techniques even when they have ceased to ask the basic questions with which their system is really concerned. In such instances it may even be necessary for theology to seek to re-awaken interest in the primary questions which are at stake. But in general the questions are the doors through which a more penetrating entrance can be made. Is the question concerned with cause or significance or form or structure or life or energy or purpose? The entrance of the Son of God was related to each of these basic questions, and if theology has listened attentively it will surely gain the right to put forward its own answers when the questions are pressed towards their limits.

In the third place—and here the danger of open conflict begins to appear—theology, by entering into a particular field of endeavour or inquiry, cannot refrain from bearing witness to what it believes to be the *limits* of these particular enterprises. For it so happens that none who specialize in particular fields of inquiry and become expert in the use of technical terms and instruments are immune from the temptation which beset the very first technicians to whom the Bible refers. They could not refrain, we are told, from extending their inquiry and their construction to a point where it would be subject to no limitations, dependent upon no external restraints. And this temptation is a perennial source of unbalance in the world's history; hybris can scarcely fail to issue in confusion and in final disruption

If then the Christian theologian has taken the initial way of identification and has followed this by a period of attentive listening, he is in the position to press the issue of the limits of the subject when he sees that it can no longer be avoided. Is history, for example, to carry forward with an unbounded confidence in what it can build out of "facts", discovered and set in position by the human artificer? Is it to ignore the possibility of the entrance of transcendent factors which may cut across human expectancies and pretensions? Or, again, are science and technology to be allowed to pursue their joint courses without any sense of limits beyond which they have no right to go? Are there, in fact, no limits in the realm of scientific experimentation? The entrance of the Son of God into the human scene indicated that he who injures or destroys his brother in the course of his experimentation is guilty of the blood of a brother for whom Christ died. Indeed every development of technology which lowers the personal status and character of man is an implied rejection of him who became man in order that he might enable man to rise to his true nature of a son of God. The entrance of the Christ into historic manhood set limits once for all to human existence: the entrance of Christian theology into any field of human investigation must likewise set limits to the outreach and the possible achievement of that particular disciplined inquiry.

The question of limits is an urgent one to-day. As Paul Tillich has penetratingly said: "Everything must be defined by its limits, a fact to which the very word 'definition' refers. Whoever is so related to a thing that he does not see its limits cannot know it." And we may

add: "Only when the Christ has been allowed an entrance into a field of inquiry can the student gain a proper recognition of the limits of his investigation and thereby make his fullest contribution to the growing body of human knowledge."

To sum up. The simple Christian Gospel proclaims in its Advent message that the Son of God came to seek—relating himself, that is, to men exactly where they are—and to save—bringing men, that is, to their full destiny as determined within the purpose of God. In seeking he humbled himself, clothed himself in the forms of a particular age, listened to the questions of a particular time, related himself to the actual condition of particular men. In saving he showed man the limits of his earthly existence but also the unbounded possibilities of his heavenly calling. He executed judgment upon every form of self-aggrandisement and self-enclosure, he set man free to move towards his true fulfilment within the Kingdom of God.

And what God in Christ has done in the world of space and time the Christian theologian seeks to imitate in the world of investigation and co-ordination. He cannot remain aloof or apart from any system of inquiry. He seeks his own entrance on the ground that the entrance of the Son of God has affected every department of human existence. He seeks to find the historian, the philosopher, the scientist, the artist, where he is: he begs leave to listen to his questions and even to ask questions on his own: he bears witness to the limits which bound every human inquiry: he declares that beyond every limit of the natural order is the living God himself and that at the end of every human question is some part of the activity of that same living God. In this way the Christ still comes to his world. And then and now and always, in life, in thought and in action, as many as receive him to them does he give the authority to be called the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name, which are born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man but of God.

F. W. Dillistone.

The Christian Approach to Homosexuality

Two years ago several sensational trials attracted much publicity and directed public attention to the problem of homosexuality, leaving the public conscience unconvinced that current legal, medical or sociological approaches to this question were either adequate or up-to-date. The Government appointed a commission to investigate the subject and its report is awaited with interest especially by doctors, lawyers and pastors, to whom homosexual difficulties are commonly referred. In the meantime various books have appeared in English, one of the latest and best informed of which is Dr D. S. Bailey's *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (Longmans, 15s.). Dr Bailey is a clergyman, a lecturer for the Church of England Moral Welfare Council and the author of a book on marriage. Most of his work is taken up with a history of Christian opinion about homosexuality and its background, but this serves as a *pièce justifica-*

tive for Bailey's own psychological views and for the practical recommendations he bases upon them.

The first chapter deals with the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19. 4–11) which Bailey, supported by an impressive minority of exegetes including Calvin, does not regard as having a homosexual point. He maintains rightly that the story is probably composite and that the Cities of the Plain may well have been destroyed by some natural catastrophe in the region. The legend of the Flood presents an obvious parallel. He also points out analogies between Lot's entertainment of strangers, who turn out to be supernatural beings, and similar folk tales in other literatures. He thinks that the citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah were a bad lot and enjoyed an evil reputation on many counts, but were not especially notorious for homosexual vices. In the case of Lot and the angels, they were boorish and disregarded the strict proprieties of Oriental hospitality. Lot's offer of his daughters to the crowd was a gesture of desperation intended to divert attention from his guests and shield them from molestation. If this be so, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah cannot be taken as evidence of God's singular condemnation of homosexual as opposed to other sexual offences.

None of Bailey's suggestions is impossible but the evidence that the story has homosexual implications is cumulative. It is difficult to believe that Lot's daughters were offered as a sexual provocation in order to distract the Sodomites from their merely churlish designs, that the long dialogue between Jehovah and Abraham on the possible reprieve of the cities for the sake of a few decent citizens turns implicitly on a number of unspecified counts and that the ultimate destruction of the localities was designed merely as a divine lesson in good manners. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah may be irrelevant to modern thought, but its original significance can hardly be mistaken.

The rest of the Biblical material is dealt with straightforwardly: there are two prescriptions against intercourse between men in Lev. 18. 22 and 20. 13; the second demands the death penalty. References in the English Bible to Sodomites in the Temple depend on a mistranslation of the Hebrew *q' dheshim* and a misconception of their functions as male prostitutes in orgiastic rites imported from Canaanite cults. In the New Testament homosexual practices between men are explicitly condemned in Rom. 1. 27, 1 Cor. 6. 9–10 and 1 Tim. 1. 9–10, and may be implicit in other passages. Bailey attributes this to the prevalence of homosexuality in Graeco-Roman society at this time, but there is little reason to single out any nation or class in which indulgences of this kind were especially common. We know more about homosexuality in Graeco-Roman society because the evidence we possess informs us more fully of the manners and morals of these milieux than of Oriental ones.

Talmudic legislation prescribed the death penalty for homosexual acts between males except passive partners under age and active participants too young to experience sexual sensations. These enactments were, however, purely theoretical, as the Jews lacked the political autonomy to put them into effect. The evidence for Pagan

legislation in its early stages and its application are obscure. Homosexual prostitution was sufficiently legal to be taxed as late as the reign of Severus Alexander, and the attempts to suppress it shortly thereafter clearly met with limited success. By the end of the 4th century this step was taken and all homosexual offences between men became capital crimes.

Christian moralists of the Patristic Age followed St Paul (Rom. 1. 27) in condemning homosexual practices as contrary to nature (in the Aristotelian sense) and canon law reflected the same temper. The ascetic literature and monastic rules regularly included injunctions against both homosexual and heterosexual behaviour, and punished the former with extreme severity: burning at the stake, excommunication, exclusion from the Sacraments for long periods, and in the case of clergy, deposition, exile and lashing. In Spain, Visigothic law imposed castration as a civil punishment on both partners in homosexual acts, together with such ecclesiastical retribution as canon law required. The Penitentials distinguished, sometimes in great detail, between different kinds and degrees of homosexual indulgence and were in general more lenient with boys than with men, and with laymen than with clergy. The most elaborate and vituperative treatment of this theme to be found in medieval literature is Peter Damiani's *Liber Gomorrhianus* (1051), a most unedifying work, which proved too strong meat for Leo IX, to whom it had been dedicated and who provided by his own enactments an antidote for Damiani's uncompromising harshness in a modicum of Christian compassion and pastoral solicitude.

Bailey's last historical chapter concerns English legislation from 1290–1885. The medieval laws are relatively uniform, but in 1861 the death penalty was altered to imprisonment for ten years or, at the court's discretion, for life. Current legislation depends on the Offences against the Person Act of 1861 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. Bailey observes that "for the blackmailer" the latter "has proved a lucrative piece of legislation; it has often busied the courts with matters which belong more properly to the moralist, the pastor and the psychiatrist than to the criminal lawyer; and there is no proof that it has had any marked deterrent or ameliorative effect" (p. 152).

The historical account is dismal enough and English legal history on this point stops just before psychological investigation and understanding of the problem began with the researches and conclusions of Sigmund Freud and his followers. Dr Bailey's last chapter treats directly the psychological aspect of homosexuality and contains specific recommendations for dealing with the homosexual as an individual and as a member of society. This section is less well-informed than the historical portions and suffers from a lack of clinical information and experience. His views are an advance on many that are currently held and acted on, but they require some modification in the light of what we now know of the dynamics of instinctive behaviour.

In Bailey's view homosexuals and heterosexuals are fixed types conditioned by nature and probably as unalterable as blacks and

whites, blondes and brunettes. Representatives of each type may, however, engage in relations which are contrary to their true dispositions. Thus some heterosexuals indulge in homosexual practices out of curiosity, through lack of heterosexual opportunities or to enlarge their range of pleasurable experience. These persons Bailey calls "perverts", and for the pervert Bailey puts up no case at all. True homosexuals, or as he calls them "inverts", like true heterosexuals, are not responsible for their inclinations and should not be blamed for having them, but are able to control their sexual desires and must be required to exercise the same restraint as unmarried heterosexuals.

Unhappily, clinical observation and experience do not confirm this simple hypothesis. Sexual differentiation rests biologically partly on an anatomical, partly on a hormonic base, but the problems of sexual choice have been singularly little illuminated by what is at present known about these factors. Psychologically, sexual behaviour may be described as "instinctive", but there is no unanimity of opinion about what constitutes an instinct. What are called "instincts" are clusters of related impulses demanding the same kind of satisfaction and aiming at the same biologically intelligible goal. If instinctive behaviour always followed this pattern life would be much simpler than it is. Hunger demands satisfaction in eating, thirst in drinking, and food and drink keep the organism going. There is pleasure in eating and drinking, but the choices of food and drink we make do not always serve the best interests of our bodily functioning. They may even turn on themselves and prove self-destructive. The sexual instinct demands orgasmic satisfaction, and this leads in favourable circumstances to procreation and the perpetuation of the species. Sexual choices, however, do not always contribute to this result and orgasmic experience may be enjoyed in various ways which defeat reproduction. On a conscious level choices of this kind are spontaneous and in this sense natural, but they serve as covers and sometimes as caricatures of heterosexual choices made in early childhood and repressed because of the guilt associated with them. The objects of these early choices are enclosed within the family circle, are incestuous and imply rivalries with the father or other powerful competitive figures which leave the child with the feeling that he is beaten before he starts. The healthy child abandons his incestuous attachments for others, but the neurotic, who declines to relinquish his early sexual goals, sees in every woman a mother or a sister and attempts to prove to others and—what is more important—to himself that he entertains no such interest. "See," he says, "I cannot be in love with my mother or my sister! I don't like women at all, only men, their biological opposites." The patterns of homosexual choice may be elaborated in various ways, but this is their matrix. Homosexuality, therefore, is never primary and the factors which determine it are the psychic reactions to the early environment. Whether these psychic reactions are physiologically predisposed is unknown. Psychoanalysis has, however, demonstrated that in many cases they are not unalterable and their conversion to a normal pattern can be better effected by psychotherapeutic than by physiological means. The dis-

tinction between "invert" and "pervert" is resolved by the evidence of free association, in which bi-sexual dispositions are revealed as the rule rather than the exception. The degree to which impulses of both kinds are experienced in adult life or acted upon differs greatly from one individual to another. The possibilities of homosexual or heterosexual control depends on the compulsive tensions associated with emotional development. There is no fixed standard which can be applied to everyone, for the sexual destiny of any personality is only one aspect of the give and take of life itself.

Dr Bailey's practical suggestions are for the most part sensible and pastoral. He urges that particular forms of homosexual indulgence should not be singled out for drastic punishment and that legal terminology should be made concrete and exact. He points to the anomaly that homosexual relations between males are heavily penalized, whereas those between females are ignored by the law, and urges that such relations when established between consenting adults should not be subject to legal prosecution.

Dr Bailey's book presents a welcome alternative to popular prejudice which has wrought such havoc in legislation and public morality. Unfortunately this prejudice is itself a product of homosexual conflict. The repression of homosexual tendencies accompanying heterosexual adjustment is often projected in punitive measures against persons who have not suppressed their homosexual inclinations. A common unconscious drama is thus re-enacted on the stage set by conventional, irrational morality. The dynamic involved here is powerful, and far-reaching reforms may be expected only when this tension is reduced, so that knowledge, insight and reason make their legitimate contribution to an enlightened sense of right and wrong. In this endeavour the Church should lead and not reluctantly follow. Some psychological competence is an essential adjunct to the contemporary exercise of the pastoral office.

R. P. Casey.

Letter from Greece

During the last fifty years Greece has suffered deeply from four big and destructive wars, namely the two Balkan (1911–13) and two world wars (1914–18 and 1940–4) and the communistic guerilla fighting (1946–9). So many wars within fifty years for a small and poor country like Greece are a real trial indeed. Being at the crossroads of three continents and surrounded by numerous nations, Greece could not, on account of her geographic position, avoid these conflicts, as her freedom and her very existence as a nation were at stake. Mournful then is the background of the religious and spiritual life of modern Greece. However, tears, pains and ruins are sometimes of great benefit in the lives of individuals and peoples. In such moments man acquires a better knowledge of God and himself and thinks *sub specie aeternitatis*. As Job said in the midst of his sufferings: "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now my eye seeth thee" (42. 5).

After so many hardships Greeks have shown an evident turning toward religion and their noble traditions. Every Sunday, sometimes during the week, the divine Liturgy is transmitted by the radio. Many poets have written religious poems, inspired by the Passion of our Lord and the Davidic psalms related to the sufferings of the righteous. (Here are the names of some of them: Beritis, Kachrimanis, Sifis Kolias and others.) During the Occupation in World War II, a group under the guidance of Professor Bratsiotis studied the Holy Scripture and especially the Revelation of St John, which, as is well known, is connected with the persecutions of the first Christians. As a result of this work, Professor Bratsiotis published an excellent critical commentary on the Revelation of St John (1950). It is noteworthy that the second theological Faculty of Greece in Salonica was founded in 1942 and began its work during the Occupation.

The flourishing activities of religious societies which have multiplied in recent years, by private initiative and through the work of the "Apostoliki Diakonia", which is an institution of the official Church, and the theological studies and researches in recent years, prove that the Greek people have turned towards religion. We are not going to speak about the religious societies in the Greek Church in this letter, as they are known abroad, many works having been published on this subject in foreign languages.[1] We will only deal briefly with the theological studies and certain other questions with which the Greek Church is at present concerned.

The centres of theological studies in Greece are the two theological schools of Athens and Salonika. These two Faculties aim, first, at the theological training of the clergy, the teachers of religious lessons in the high schools of the country, the preachers and the catechists, and, secondly, at promoting theological studies and research. These Faculties are Orthodox and serve the Orthodox Church, from which they draw the contents of their teaching. Their relations with the official Greek Church have always been harmonious, because all of them belong to the same confession, and the Greek people, which constitutes the body of the Church, is 99 per cent. Orthodox. However, these Faculties are entirely independent of the Church both administratively and scientifically, being free to work within the framework of the Orthodox Confession and tradition. On the other hand, the Greek Church has often referred important questions to the Theological Faculties, asking their learned and Orthodox opinion on them. Thus, during recent years, the Church has asked professors of these two Faculties to express their opinion on the following matters: (1) Collaboration with the Christian Churches in the world and participation in the Ecumenical Movement, (2) the calendar, (3) Freemasonry, (4) validity of the Anglican orders. Professors of

[1] Cf. Professor Bratsiotis, "The Evangelistic Work of the Contemporary Greek Orthodox Church," in *Christian East*, March 1950; Jerome Cotsonis, "New Life in the Church of Greece" in *World Dominion and the World To-day*, May-June 1951, p. 170; Emil Timiadis, "Religious Recovery in Greece" in *World Christian Digest*, October 1951; Onesimus, *The Greek Christian Movements*, p. 198; Attwater in *Dissident Eastern Churches*, 1937, etc.

the Theological Faculties are always included as members of the committees of the Holy Synod on various questions. However, the opinions of the Theological Faculties on subjects submitted to them by the Church are not obligatory for the Holy Synod, which can take a contrary decision.

During recent years many theological works, some of which have been translated into foreign languages, have been published. What is the spirit and the value of these works? Certainly, in Greek Orthodox Theology we have no schools of thought, as is the case in the foreign non-Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox Church is conservative in character. It is a Church of tradition, combining freedom with authority; consequently, its theology also has these two characteristics. Conservatism and progress are not incompatible. But an essential feature of the genuinely Orthodox theologian is to follow in the steps of the Fathers of the Church.[1] All schools of thought and theological theories in Europe and in America are well known to the Greek theologians, because all of them have studied abroad. Their theological books and essays are full of quotations and references to the contemporary non-Orthodox writings. But their value and importance are not judged by their knowledge of modern non-Orthodox theology, as their books are very often affected by Roman Catholic and Protestant ideas. To-day Orthodox Greek opinion is strongly orientated towards the Fathers, towards the genuine tradition of the ancient and undivided Church. "Back to the Fathers!" is the motto among Greeks, as well as in some Christian circles abroad. The idea that a modern theologian should for his inspiration go back to the Fathers, to the past ages, does not sound very well and it might be unpopular to the modern scholars of theology. The call "back to the Fathers" may be misunderstood very easily. Thus, on account of its insistence upon the teaching of the Fathers and upon tradition, the Orthodox Church is accused abroad of being inflexible, monolithic and retrogressive. But to follow the Fathers does not mean servile imitation and literal repetition of their words. What is required is a further development of the patristic ideas according to the needs and the conditions of modern humanity. Not identity in words and statements, but continuity with the life and of the spirit of the Fathers is the most important task in our theological studies. The teaching of the Fathers is not their personal opinion, but the voice of the Catholic Universal Church. Through them it is the Church that speaks. In this lies the incomparable value of the patristic writings. We must rekindle in our hearts and mind the creative fire of the Fathers. We must go back to the Fathers, to the tradition of the

[1] Whoever would like to have an idea about the tendencies of the contemporary Orthodox Theology can study the Minutes of the first Congress of the Orthodox Theology held in Athens in 1936, published by Professor H. Alivizatos. The essays in the book are in the language in which they were read in the Congress by the speakers (Greek, English, German and French). The title of the book is *Procès-verbaux du Premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodox à Athènes, 29 Novembre–6 Décembre*, 1936. All kinds of theological subjects, e.g. doctrinal, ecclesiological, liturgical, social, etc., were developed in this Congress by professors of all the Theological Faculties in all the Orthodox countries (Greece, Russia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria).

primitive Church; we must "ask for the old paths", according to the words of the Prophet Jeremiah (6. 16).

Such is therefore the decisive turning to the Greek Fathers in contemporary theological researches.[1] Thus, a second, new edition of the Holy Canons was issued by Professor Alivizatos (1949). This year, the "Apotoliki Diakonia" has begun issuing the works of the Greek Fathers, which, in the collection of Migne, are inaccessible to Greek readers. The contents of the first three volumes are: Clement of Rome, the Didache, the Epistle to Diognetus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas, Papias, Codratos, Justin Martyr. This edition was greeted with enthusiasm as the beginning of a new flourishing of Greek Orthodox Theology, despite the fact it is not a complete edition, as it contains no critical comments. It simply consists of the texts with an excellent introduction to each one of them. Professor Trembellas has also issued commentaries on all the books of the New Testament, containing the opinions of the Fathers of the Church in the form of "Catena" and the opinions of some contemporary foreign interpreters of the New Testament. These commentaries by Mr Trembellas were received with great joy by clergymen and laymen alike and have circulated very widely. The excellent books "Dogmatics" and "Symbolics", by the late Professor C. Androutsos, ran out of stock long ago and the demand for them is very great. These two works have also been translated into foreign languages. Numerous works on subjects of Ecclesiastical History, Exegetical and Practical Theology have been published. Here we note in particular some Sociological works of contemporary Greek theologians: they are "The Church and Social Matters" by *Professor Alivizatos* (1937), "The Biblical and Historicodogmatic Basis of the Social Mission of the Orthodox Church" (1936) by the same author, also published in German; "Christianity and Society" by *D. Ballanos* (1936), "Church and Nation" by the same author (1937); "Christ was a Socialist?" by *Professor Bratsiotis* (1925), "The Three Hierarchs and the Social Problem" (2nd edition, 1939), Christianity and Civilization" (1941) by the same; "The Gospel and the Social Problem" by *Professor B. Ioannidis* (1950); "The Social Ideas of Clement of Alexandria" and "The Mongs as Social Teachers and Workers in the Ancient Eastern Church" (1950) by *A. Fitrakis.*

We will now give some information about those problems of the contemporary Greek Church which she shares with other Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox Church is a continuation of the ancient Church, established by our Lord, propagated all over the world by the Apostles and organized by the Ecumenical and Local Synods and the Great Fathers. This is proved by its unadulterated dogmatic and apostolical teaching, by its ancient rites, by its synodical system in administration and generally by its faith in the ancient tradition and the spirit and teaching of the Fathers. To-day the Orthodox Church constitutes a confederation of autonomous Churches bound together by the same teachings, the same rites and the same order in the ad-

[1] Cf. *Greek Theology during the past Fifty Years*, by Professor P. Bratsiotis, Athens, 1948, in Greek, and *The Church of Greece*, by the late Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostomos, 1954, pp. 174–85.

ministration of the Church, the same sacraments and the same hierarchy. However, they do not present the same unity externally and their relations and co-operation on common subjects are not as close as they should be. There are matters which should be arranged by a common decision in a Panorthodox Synod, whose decisions would be obligatory for all these Churches. For the time being the convention of such a Panorthodox Synod is impossible. But the list of the subjects which will be discussed in the future Panorthodox Synod was prepared in Mount Athos by a committee of the Orthodox Churches in 1930. These subjects will be: (1) Tightening of the relations of the Orthodox Churches in order to secure a closer co-operation, so that the unity they already possess may be manifest, (2) education of the clergy, (3) the question of clergymen's marriage after their ordination, (4) reorganization of monastic life, (5) codification of the Holy Canons, (6) the calendar, (7) ways of introducing heterodox people to orthodoxy and (8) participation of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement. It is everybody's ardent wish for this Panorthodox Synod to be convened as soon as possible, as the above matters which it alone can solve are essential to the life of the Orthodox Church and its work in the world.

Among these subjects is the participation of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches. To-day all the autonomous Orthodox Churches, except those beyond the Iron Curtain, participate in W.C.C. and its assemblies. Moreover, the Russian, Serbian, Rumanian and Bulgarian exiles always participate through their delegates in these assemblies. The Orthodox people pray, in the divine Service, "for the unity of all the Churches of Christ". The foundation of W.C.C. and the co-operation in it of numerous heterodox Churches with the Orthodox Church constitutes something quite new in ecclesiastical history. It has created new situations for all the Churches and it was natural for it to give rise to much discussion and opposition in all the Churches, and especially in the Orthodox Church. In Greece, numerous articles were published in relation to the Ecumenical Movement (cf. also our article, "The Orthodox Church at Evanston", in *Christian Century*, 18th November 1955, p. 1321). Certain Orthodox theologians stress the difficulty of the discussion of dogmatic matters among numerous Churches separated from each other by essential differences in faith and order. This is quite true, and there would have been no difficulty if the discussions had been carried out only between Churches having minor dogmatic differences between them. In fact, whenever matters of faith are discussed, the Orthodox make separate statements, as they did at Lausanne, Edinburgh and Evanston. Some think that the participation of the Orthodox should be limited only to practical matters and others recommend that only lay theologians should be sent, and not prelates, for the sake of the prestige of the Church. Those maintaining that the Orthodox should abstain from the Ecumenical Movement and send observers only, like the Roman Catholic Church, are very few. These points regarding the Ecumenical Movement are still being discussed in the Greek Church, but the official Church has already decided for its full participation in the W.C.C.

Thus, a large delegation of the Greek Church, consisting of nine professors of the Athens and Salonica Universities and the Chief-Chaplain to the Royal Palace, Archimandrite Jerome Cotsonis, was sent to Evanston. These delegates of the Greek Church, in co-operation with the Orthodox delegates of other autonomous Churches, took an active part in all committees and discussions, and Orthodox delegates were appointed members of the Presidium, of the Central Committee, of the Executive Committee and of other committees of the W.C.C., while a representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Bisop James Koukouzis, has taken up a permanent post in the headquarters of W.C.C. in Geneva. Therefore, the participation of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement and the W.C.C. is a definite fact and this is very valuable and significant for the Ecumenical Movement, which thus ceases to consist exclusively of Protestant Churches. BASIL IOANNIDIS.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A NON-PROFESSIONAL MINISTRY

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

SIR,

The many interesting and almost conclusive arguments which have been set out recently for the introduction of a non-professional or part-time ministry (whether it be a permanent diaconate or with possible advancement to the priesthood) appear to miss one very important factor, i.e. mobility.

The duration of a priest's incumbency may at present depend upon a number of things, but secular employment and a house are not among them. He can move or be moved without reference to other than ecclesiastical authority. A non-professional, part-time priest would be static ecclesiastically and only mobile in relationship to his secular employment. He would become part of the parish staff with whom a new incumbent would have to work or risk an upheaval among his parishioners. Necessary and even vital changes in parochial policy and activities, often only possible with the arrival of a new incumbent, might become impossible in a parish where one or two part-time priests had not only served under one, two or three past incumbents, but also maintained the old traditions during a lengthy interregnum.

Such part-time priests might well fulfil the Pauline injunction by

being "stedfast . . . always abounding in the work of the Lord", but they would certainly be "unmoveable".

Would it not be better for the present ministry to continue, even though hard pressed, rather than adopt a measure which might involve stagnation and a form of congregationalism?

West Acklam Vicarage,
Middlesbrough.

Yours sincerely,
John L. Badger.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the English Church and People. By Bede (translated by Leo Sherley-Price). Penguin Classics. 3s. 6d.

The Church in England, 597–1688. By S. C. Carpenter. John Murray. 40s.

The Church in England has been peculiarly rich in great historians—Bede, the medieval chroniclers, Parker, Fuller, Burnet, Gibson, Strype, Dean Church and Bishops Stubbs and Creighton, to mention but a few and to spare contemporary blushes. The Penguin Classics have now taken the bold step of reprinting the earliest among them, the *non pareil*. The translation is, as far as the reviewer has been able to ascertain, accurate, erring if anything on the side of too-great precision at the expense of a modern English idiom and rhythm. Mr Sherley-Price has also written a useful introduction, dealing shortly with Bede's life, with his standing as an historian, and with the problem of miracles which is raised by his hagiography. This latter note should be especially welcome to the general reader; for his sake too one could wish that one or two sketch-maps had been introduced into the text. M. R. James noted, in writing about the manuscripts of Bede, that "it was never the fashion to make the *History* into a picture-book". Perhaps this unwonted medieval austerity was a tribute to Bede's skill as a painter of graphic pictures in words. It is to be hoped that this courageous publication will help many readers to enjoy that skill for themselves.

The former Dean of Exeter would not claim for himself a place in the pantheon of great names already mentioned. But he has done a great service to historians in writing, as long ago as 1933, what is still the best account of the Church of England in the 19th century. He has now essayed a more ambitious task and has produced, not so much a history of the Church of England from 597 to 1688, as an *historical guide* to the *Ecclesia Anglicana* in that period. This method has its disadvantages, and sometimes one finds oneself wishing for closer analysis, or clearer chronology, or deeper historical questioning. To take three examples from various parts of the book: Bishop Grossetete receives one of the author's excellent pen-sketches and on p. 98 Dr Carpenter notes his visitations and comments that "he here made a precedent", but does not go on to drive home the rider that the increased emphasis on episcopal pastoral administration and oversight marked the beginning of the end of the overweening growth of archidiaconal powers, which had been such a feature

of the earlier centuries and which might have developed, if it had not been checked, into a system very different from that we now know. Again, on p. 323 we are introduced to Robert Browne before Thomas Cartwright has made his bow; yet the Presbyterian preceded the Separatist not only chronologically, but also logically and theologically. Thirdly, towards the end of the book, when he is dealing with the Restoration Settlement, Dr Carpenter does not ask the historical question (which Mr R. S. Bosher has asked and so brilliantly answered), "Why was the settlement so Laudian?" Nor, I think, can one agree with Dr Carpenter's optimistic estimate of the behaviour of the Anglican bishops who remained in England during the Interregnum; "hoping for better times to come, they kept in mind the idea of episcopal succession, and if the trial had lasted much longer, they would have found means to maintain it" (p. 428). Mr Bosher has shown that in 1659 Hyde was in a frenzy over "the most immediate peril of the lapse of the Episcopal Order" (*The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, pp. 89 ff., 134).

The reviewer has noted the following misprints: on p. 306 Parkhurst becomes "Parkhouse", and on p. 382 Cudworth "Curdworth"; on p. 357 the Vincentian Canon appears in a novel guise. More serious, on p. 490 Dr Carpenter follows Strype in attributing a now-famous remark of a super-Erastian character to Whitgift, though it has been shown that in fact the sentiments were probably those of Sir Francis Knollys.

But having said so much one turns to the author's own description of his book in the Preface—"it contains enough about the doings of monarchs, archbishops and synods to meet the needs of those who have in prospect an examination in the subject, but its main purpose is to show how the English people took what was done and what they made of it"—and criticism is stilled. Dr Carpenter may not lay a smooth tarmac through the highways of English Church History, but he is a captivating guide to its byways, and it is clear that he has spent a lifetime of reading in exploring them. He makes no secret of the fact that his sympathies lie with Bancroft, Hooker, Laud, the Carolines and their followers, but he never claims that they are perfect or even blameless, and he is scrupulously fair to their rivals. In fact, in view of the title and the dates he has chosen for his book it is surprising that he does not make more of the idea of "comprehension", which was the ideal of Hooker and those who followed him, and which the Toleration Acts which came with the Glorious Revolution declared to be a dead letter. But it is in describing the vicissitudes of the lesser men, and of the churches in which, and the liturgy through which, they worshipped, that Dr Carpenter excels. Here the width of his reading is most obvious and the felicity of his judgments most endearing. On p. 444, for instance, the Reverend Mr Josselin, who should by rights have been the vicar of Bray is perfectly hit off: "it is easy to condemn him . . . but the streams in which he swam were very strong, and minnow as he was, he had his scruples and he faced his dangers on both the ebb and the flood tide." It is for the many passages like this that this book should be regarded, not as a rival, but as a complement, to that of Dr Moorman.

Dr Carpenter has left a gap of a hundred years, the 18th century, in his history of the English Church. We hope that he will be able to fill the gap; such a book would be most useful—and we should like to know what he has to say about the Parson Woodfordes.

Jesus College, Cambridge. B. D. Till.

The Book of Acts in History. By H. J. Cadbury. A. and C. Black. 15s.

Since *The Beginnings of Christianity* Part I completed publication in 1933 (the two final volumes under the editorship of Lake and Cadbury) research and discovery have provided more evidence for the understanding of Acts. Dr Cadbury has gathered it together in a gracefully written, rather discursive study of the five cultural environments so closely interwoven in Acts.

Lake has remarked that "to understand the New Testament properly it is well to remember that it is not, like the Old Testament, the story of a people living in a corner of the western edge of the Semitic world, but of a group—not a people—which started from the eastern edge of the Greco-Roman world and spread all over the West" (*Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 187). So Dr Cadbury begins with comments on the oriental background—rather inappropriately named, since it includes Nabatean influence on Damascus, Hellenic views of Ethiopia, and the barbarian manners of Lycaonia. But we know what he means. "Scratch beneath the skin of the other cultures and you will find the Oriental still there" (p. 28).

In the chapters on the Greek and Roman environments the author's linguistic and literary interests have full play. He adds useful notes on the Lukan vocabulary and gives a long discussion of the Aratus quotation in Acts 17. Forty years' study of the Lukan writings has made him a sensitive and authoritative critic of his style, and his judgment is that Luke "was a man of some cultivation, at home in the speech of the current Greek and not to be reckoned a mere barbarian or one ill at ease in the speech and civilization of the far flung area in which the Greek influence had come to dominate" (p. 53). The Roman chapter ranges from milestones to names and includes a fascinating study of Roman citizenship. (How did Paul prove his claim to citizenship at Philippi and Jerusalem?)

Luke is given full credit for his impression (rivalling that of Philo) of the Judaism of the Diaspora, but on this subject Dr Cadbury has less of interest to provide. He is not yet prepared to draw inferences from the Dead Sea documents. Yet there is an invitation to examine such new sources of information in his interesting demonstration that Luke was acquainted with certain embellishments of the Old Testament current in Jewish and Jewish Christian circles (p. 104).

The concluding chapters on the Christian environment and on the subsequent history and influence of the book of Acts cover fairly familiar ground, e.g. the early evidence for Christianity external to the New Testament, undesigned coincidences of Acts and the Pauline

epistles, the Alexandrian and Western texts, the influence of Acts on the collection of the Pauline corpus. Each chapter is provided with numerous references to recent literature, and every scholar will be grateful for them.

Dr Cadbury is well aware that this kind of scholarship can appear to be, and even become, comically irrelevant. "Is there any real value in showing that sporadically we happen to have evidence from other sources for a story that no one expects to be generally fictitious any how?" (p. 6). He has, however, a good defence. "Much that may seem to us distinctive is merely unmodern or unwestern." Consequently, an accurate knowledge of the 1st-century environment will help us to avoid the perils of over-eager exegesis. The more we learn to share Luke's own sensitiveness to cultural differences, the more we shall be able to hear what he is really saying. This book can be read for its sheer historical interest, but it is also not irrelevant to a proper exposition of scripture.

KENNETH GRAYSTON.

DIDSBURY COLLEGE,
BRISTOL.

THE POETRY OF MEDITATION. By Louis L. Martz. Yale University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 40s.

The thesis of Professor Martz, who is Professor of English at Yale University, is that English religious poetry of the seventeenth century should be described in terms of a "meditative tradition" rather than as being in the Donne tradition or as being dominated by a school of metaphysical poets. He sets out to show that this meditative tradition in English poetry originates in the wide currency of Continental methods of meditation in England during the period. The author is far from decrying Donne's influence, and, indeed, his book brings to light many literary contacts in the works of the seventeenth-century religious poets. Rather is it his contention that "the direct influence of one of these poets upon another, though considerable, would thus become secondary: individual mastery of the art of meditation would lie behind the poetry and be of the essence of their kinship. Even the deep and intimate influence of Herbert upon Vaughan would have been, perhaps, of little avail for poetry had not Vaughan himself become a fervent adept in meditative practices, especially in the widespread practice of meditation on the 'creatures'. Similarly, although both the personal and the poetical relationship between Donne and Herbert was very close, we may do Herbert a serious injustice if we see him only as a gifted disciple, transmuting through his own smaller personality a way of writing essentially made possible by Donne. We may have been attributing to Donne's example many qualities in Herbert's poetry which could better be attributed to the art of meditation, independently fertilizing the lines of both poets" (pp. 2, 3). His development of this theme and his careful documentation make Professor Martz's book of considerable interest to students of the religious practices and the literature of the seventeenth century.

Essentially this is a study in the modification of the usual way of

looking at this poetry, and the author brings to it not only a wide acquaintance with the poets themselves, but also the results of an examination of the effect of Continental religious practices in England. This examination constitutes Part I, and in these four chapters, he considers the effects of the Exercises and of the Salesian method, amongst others, on the form of the poetry. If he goes far back for some of his sources they cannot be said to be irrelevant. The immediate aim of this section is to uncover those aspects of meditation which are potential poetry, as for example, where we are shown the influence of the familiar composition of place, analysis and colloquy in three poems of Southwell. Of course the form of some poems, being more or less dictated by the subject, naturally falls almost inevitably into such a structure. Professor Martz is aware of this and not the least attractive part of his work is the absence of any attempt to force his material in order to accommodate his thesis. Nor has he any need to do so, as Donne's *La Corona* sonnets and the form of Herbert's *Temple* clearly illustrate it.

There is a coalescing of Elizabethan lyric, of Renaissance poetical tradition, with the form of meditative practices, and the author desires to examine that "middle ground of the creative mind" where they meet. This is the subject of Part II, where there is a detailed analysis of some of the poems of Southwell, Donne and Herbert. In one sense, the book is as much an attempt to picture the mind of the period as to study its poetry, for it is "the general cast of mind" formed by the influences here analysed, which is the common source of the poetry. Among these influences are lines which run from the Rosetum of Mauburnus to Joseph Hall and thence to Crashaw, or from the Imitation to Herbert by way of de Sales. Of particular interest in this respect is the chapter dealing with Baxter and Puritanism.

Professor Martz has added to the literature of appreciation of the seventeenth century by this scholarly and discriminating work.

Cork. H. R. McAdoo.

The Eighteenth Century Country Parson. By A. Tindal Hart. Wilding and Son (Shrewsbury). 14s.

We have here the companion volume to the joint work of Canon Edward Carpenter and Dr Tindal Hart on the country parson in the 19th century. Together they provide a useful conspectus of most aspects of rural religion in this country between the Revolution and the death of Queen Victoria. (We understand a final volume is in prospect covering the 17th century.) The present volume is scarcely as satisfying as its precursor, being thinner, more abrupt in its generalizations and less thorough in its treatment of the social and ecclesiastical background. It is a series of camera-studies rather than a finished portrait of an age or a class and therefore not calculated to please our utilitarian age when even history is expected to assist propaganda or nourish prejudice. Dr Hart has been content to dig rather than to build, so that we have a stack of cut stone rather than a house.

The stones are well cut and there is no lack of material for a commodious dwelling and it would be ungrateful to complain of too much objectivity in an historian. Nevertheless, the omission of some sort of theme or thesis which would tie the chapters into a book may lessen its appeal to some readers. Between these covers there is far more information than in such now discarded monographs as, say, J. H. Overton's *Evangelical Revival* (1900) or G. W. E. Russell's *Short History* (1915) of the same movement, and yet the two latter, slight as they are, would probably impress and stimulate to a greater degree. Let us add, too, that when the author does attempt some summary or generalization he is apt to fall back upon a somewhat nebulous quotation from one of the standard histories of the period which fails to justify or clinch his argument. Thus the last words of the book—a mild and too judicial judgment from Abbey and Overton—consorts ill with—if it does not flatly contradict—the dismal array of facts and incidents presented in the chapter which immediately precedes his conclusion.

The main body of the volume, in Introduction, eight chapters and Conclusion, discourses learnedly and lightly on a wide variety of topics from the finances and fortunes of curates to the queer ways of squires, parish clerks and parsons' wives. It all makes delightful reading after the day's work is done, and the more earnest seeker after factual information to sustain a thesis will find here a veritable treasury of detail. Part II is a collection of episodes documented by extracts from the correspondence of Archbishop John Sharp, whose biography Dr Hart published in 1949. There is a frontispiece, a useful bibliography and a careful index; the general *format* and printing achieved by the Shrewsbury publishers are first-rate.

BRITFORD. W. G. ADDISON.

SHORTER NOTICES

STUDIES IN THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS. By Norman K. Gottwald. S.C.M. Press. 8s.

STUDIES IN ISAIAH. By Edward J. Young. Tyndale Press. 12s. 6d.

The altogether excellent *Studies in Theology* series sponsored by the S.C.M. Press now presents an important work on the book of Lamentations. It opens with a readable translation of the five poems (although it does not indicate where the literal meaning of the Hebrew is disguised in paraphrase). There follow the two most striking and original chapters dealing with the poetical structure and literary type of *Lamentations*. The conclusion is drawn that there were originally five separate poems, one poet being responsible for at least the first four. The five were written probably for successive, annual days of mourning over the fall of Jerusalem and later set together in the present collection. The acrostic form may well have served as an *aide-mémoire*, but its main function was to express the idea of completeness. As the alphabet itself is complete and embraces all possibilities of words (Jeremias), so is the mourning and con-

fession of the people complete, that there may be a corresponding complete cleansing of the national conscience. The extreme effort answers to the extremity of the post-586 situation.

The author is undoubtedly right in refusing to try to fit *Lamentations* into any one literary type. There are several types here and they are mixed. It is correctly concluded that these, together with the Kinah rhythm, are all subservient to the situation of great crisis. There is a shattering of the typical forms of speech in the interests of a ruling purpose, viz. to speak to and for shattered Israel between 586 and 538 B.C.

And it is here that the author finds the key to the theology of *Lamentations*, in the tension between Deuteronomic faith and the pressures of that tragic situation. The rest of the book is given to an exposition of the theology of doom and hope in *Lamentations* and demonstrates admirably that, so far from being an outburst of dreary sobbing over ruined Jerusalem, it is a living, theological work of great power.

There is a confusion of Hebrew letters on p. 59.

Studies in Isaiah is the work of a well-known American scholar of fundamentalist conviction. Half the book is an account of scholarly labours on Isaiah from Dr Joseph Alexander of Philadelphia (1809–61) to Dr Sidney Smith. Duhm is the villain; there must be a return to the principles and spirit of Alexander. There are also occasional essays on the Suffering Servant, the Immanuel Prophecy and Isa. 52. 15. The author's learning is immense. Readers of all persuasions will find much of value. But it is clear that his argument, as a whole, is the buttress of conclusions reached on independent, dogmatic grounds. The dogmas are (1) that the views of our Lord (as they are known or inferred) on the authorship and interpretation of books and passages of the Old Testament are determinative, and (2) that the Bible is the word of God in the sense that the writers of Scripture are most graciously preserved from error.

DURHAM. DOUGLAS JONES.

THE KEY CONCEPTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Albert Gelin. Sheed and Ward. 6s.

This is a stimulating little book. One could have wished for a less intimidating translation of its French title, *Les Idées Maîtresses de l'Ancien Testament*, but in just under 100 pages Père Gelin does set out in lively fashion the controlling ideas of those who treasured their ancient traditions and from generation to generation made their own mark upon them, in turn handing them on to others.

Those who would dispute that Mary is appropriately described as the connecting link between the Old Testament and the New will not find that this emphasis dominates the treatment in the first main section on "The Revelation of God in the Old Testament". The other two sections are on "God's Design in Mankind" and "Personal Salvation"; they deal with the communal and individual aspects of Old Testament religion, sometimes somewhat provocatively.

In such a summary treatment of so vast a subject it is not, perhaps, surprising that many statements which need supporting evidence are made without any such evidence. More serious, however, are the occasions on which, even in passages dealing with the theological perspective, quasi-historical statements are made; for example, "in the very earliest days Abraham had been given a Promise that illumined Israel's whole history. His descendants lived by it, intensely."

But, on the whole, the material is handled with due safeguards, and this small book is among the more successful attempts that have been made at this difficult piece of work.

William Temple College,
Rugby.

O. Jessie Lace.

A Creed before the Creeds. By H. A. Blair. Longmans. 16s.

The author's aim is to show that 1 Tim. 3. 16 is a very early Christian creed. He therefore prefers the reading *ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς* (D*sy^{pal}) to *ὁμολογουμένως*, and the division into three parallel couplets, which he takes as evidence of credal form. In the antithetical phrasing of each couplet he traces out the two essential sacramental concepts of flesh and spirit. References from the New Testament and early fathers are adduced for evidence that these lines reflect primitive Christian belief, in a mystical form. He accounts for the fact that this creed is comparatively unknown by citing the secrecy necessary under persecution and thinks it was superseded by creeds laying more emphasis on historical fact, partly because it was not sufficiently Trinitarian, partly because Gnosticism had discredited its references to mystery and angels.

Canon Blair's most interesting suggestions are in the interpretation of: "seen of angels, preached among the nations." Following Cullmann (*Earliest Christian Confessions*) in taking victory over cosmic powers as an essential part of early creeds, he compares this with 1 Pet. 3. 19; 4. 6 and assumes that the angels are the apostatizing guardians of the nations. Thus the mission of the 70 symbolizes that their names are to be written in heaven (Luke 10. 20) in lieu of the defaulting angels of the nations, traditionally 70. Further, because of primitive theriomorphic conceptions and such Old Testament references as Ezek. 8. 10, he suggests that these angels were imagined in animal form. Consequently the beasts of Peter's vision (Acts 11. 6) symbolize the nations through the guardian angels. Again, the beasts in the Marcan account of the Temptation signify that Jesus, while in the wilderness, accepted the submission of the angelic powers. Through the preaching of the Gospel to their respective nations these angels, too, will ultimately be reconciled to Christ. The author forestalls the objection of chronological confusion by distinguishing our time from supra-natural time.

Canon Blair tells us that he deliberately omitted Greek quotations, but it is a pity that the Greek of at least 1 Tim. 3. 16 is not given, while the transliteration of single Greek words is an irritating compromise. The style of the book is perhaps better suited to the pulpit

and not all the arguments will find acceptance, but the author's enthusiasm and devotional insight cannot fail to commend him to his readers.

University of Nottingham. M. Whittaker.

Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion. Edited by A. C. Oulter. Augustine: Later Works. Edited by John Burnaby. The Library of Christian Classics. Vols. VII and VIII. S.C.M. Press. 30s. each.

The "Earlier Writings" of St Augustine have already appeared in this admirable Library (see Theology, March 1954, p. 82); the two volumes now before us complete the selection of his works that is to be included. As Professor Oulter says, "Augustine wrote . . . a vast sprawling library of books, sermons, and letters", and the editors were confronted with a difficult problem of selection. Most readers will agree that they have chosen well. The *Confessions* give classical expression to Augustine's experience and thought at the beginning of his Christian ministry and the *Enchiridion* sums up his teaching at its climax. Both are given here in a new and readable translation.

Vol. VIII contains translations of the most important books in the *De Trinitate* with a summary of the argument of the rest, of *De Spiritu et Littera* in full, and of the *Tractatus in Epistolam Johannis* (abbreviated). Both by his introductions and his translations Professor Burnaby has surpassed all previous editors in making these works intelligible.

A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland. The Baird Lectures, 1953. By William D. Maxwell. Oxford University Press. 15s.

The Church of Scotland is fortunate indeed in having Dr Maxwell as an appraiser of its tradition of worship. He gives us a clear and straightforward sketch of the subject, starting with the diffusion of the tradition of the Rome of his day by St Ninian; it was this that later missions from there failed to appreciate when they met with Celtic usage.

These lectures also help us to see through the treasured but misleading idea of a sort of progressive evolution in worship from the Reformation onwards. This latter was but one more than usually significant item in a process of reform and change, and at times of falling back, offset by rediscovery and re-adaptation of ancient ways. One notes with approval the prominence given to the term "Liturgy" as a description of public worship in Scotland, or "The Action" as an alternative to it. One felt, too, that Hippolytus was more at home in the Kirk than John Wesley (p. 173).

From one point of view one can only look upon the divorce of the Episcopal tradition from the main stream of religious life in Scotland

as a major disaster. This was the result, more than anything else, of its political sympathies. Liturgical differences were exploited to serve as party badges, and one side refrained from the practice of the other as a matter of principle. As an Anglican, I could not help feeling that, however much this situation is atoned for in the Episcopal Church in its giving birth to the Church in America, the time is ripe for the two traditions in Scotland to think together in terms of Rom. 11. 15.

Dr Maxwell is no dry-as-dust liturgist. He well appreciates changes that have come about from the needs of worship being served more conveniently one way than another, as in the method of the disposal of the communicants for receiving the Sacrament.

The footnotes are in many cases as interesting as the text, notably the state of the Church of Ste Marie la Nove at Geneva, Archbishop Lang's father, observations on Church architecture, etc. I was led to wonder on this last whether features that have survived in this country as Saxon were in fact Celtic in origin.

Slips are few; Dr Coulton's initials were "G. G." (p. 38) and on p. 176, top line, the surname should be Macleod. I could have wished that the date of publication of all works mentioned had been included.

I put this book down with the conviction that the Anglican ordinand, at least, ought to include in his study of worship a tradition that culminates differently from his own. It is a book that he will want to keep.

LAPLEY. C. ST M. B. MACFARLANE.

THE PATTERN OF ATONEMENT. By H. A. Hodges. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

Dr Hodges is Professor of Philosophy at Reading. But no philosopher's name appears in the index of this book, and few professional theologians can produce theology as learned and acute as we get in the text. The author also professes to be an Anglo-Catholic, yet he has mastered the great Evangelical doctrines and passed through the Evangelical experiences. He can therefore administer pats on the back and kicks in the pants which we feel are well deserved.

The problem is posed in a chapter of good biblical theology modern in its application. Fathers, schoolmen, and above all the liturgies, contribute to the solution. Medieval and Reformation theories are criticized in regard to expiation, substitution and satisfaction. When we arrive at Justification we find ourselves plunged (but not beyond Professor Hodges' depth) into reformation and counter-reformation controversy. Protestants know most about the experience of justification. Catholics possess the proper ascetic theology into which to insert it. The Protestants often fail to distinguish between the fact and the experience. Sometimes even they have suggested that one is "saved by acquiring a confident belief that it is so." Yet an understanding of Romans 6 and 7 is an important step to spiritual maturity, if not to salvation. So Catholics would be

well advised if they ceased from registering distaste every time the experience is mentioned, and tried to understand what St Paul is talking about. And Protestants would be more consistent if they realized (as they are increasingly doing) how the sacraments assure us that Grace is a work of God.

Professor Hodges realizes as well as Simeon that "the truth lies in both extremes". He is eirenical without compromise. He is traditional without ever ceasing to be biblical. He has written not only a good, but a great book.

COSSLETT QUIN.

CORK.

AMIDA. By Henri de Lubac, S.J. Éditions du Seuil. Frs 960.

Though Père de Lubac insists that his account of the history and doctrine of the Amida school of Buddhism lacks "l'érudition critique", it is none the less heavily documented from both eastern and western sources and comment. If, as he suggests, the cult of Amida has been unfairly treated in the West as an unworthy and sentimental appendix to a more noble and philosophic Buddhism, this book should help restore the balance. Père de Lubac is at pains to relate Amidism to its parent stock in more orthodox Buddhism. In a valuable section he compares and contrasts its spirituality with that of Christianity. Since the basic problems of the spiritual life are universal he hopes that his study will encourage among Christians a revival of interest in their own traditions of spirituality.

JOHN T. MARTIN.

A SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE. By William Law. Introduction by Norman Sykes. Everyman's Library. J. M. Dent and Sons. 6s.

It is a matter of satisfaction that this Christian classic is again available in Everyman's Library. To any readers of THEOLOGY who have not yet read it, all we can say is: Hasten to do so.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.)

ABBAYE DU MONT CÉSAR (LOUVAIN): Dom Bernard Capelle, *Travaux Liturgiques de Doctrine et d'Histoire*, Vol. I (170 Belgian frs).

ABINGDON PRESS: Georgia Harkness, *Foundations of Christian Knowledge* ($2.75).

ALLEN AND UNWIN: H. J. Paton, *The Modern Predicament* (30s.).

A. AND C. BLACK: T. M. Parker, *Christianity and the State in the Light of History* (21s.).

BLACKFRIARS PUBLICATIONS: Benoît Lavaud, O.P., *The Meaning of the Religious Life* (4s. 6d.).

GEOFFREY BLES: Kenneth Packard, *Brother Edward—Priest and Evangelist* (12s. 6d.); Leslie Paul, *The Jealous God* (7s. 6d.).

CHURCH BOOK ROOM PRESS: G. W. Bromiley, *The Baptism of Infants* (1s. 6d.).

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE: Fritz Zerbst, *The Office of Woman in the Church* ($1.00).

DESCLÉE DE BROUWER: L.-J. Suenens, *L'Église en état de mission* (n.p.); *Moise—l'Homme de l'Alliance* (n.p.).

EDINBURGH HOUSE PRESS: John Lawson, *Man and His Needs* (5s.).

EDITIONS DE CHEVETOGNE: *1054–1954 L'Église et les Églises*, Vol. II (n.p.).

ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES PRESS: David H. C. Read, *The Christian Faith* (6s.).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS (London: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE): Walter E. Bundy, *Jesus and the First Three Gospels* (60s.).

HODDER AND STOUGHTON: Hugh Bishop, C.R., *The Passion Drama* (3s. 6d.); John Burnaby, *Christian Words and Christian Meanings* (9s. 6d.).

INDEPENDENT PRESS: Elizabeth Pack, *My Own Bible* (12s. 6d.).

LONDON BIBLE COLLEGE: J. H. Stringer, *Seventeenth-Century Influences on the Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (1s.).

LONGMANS: George W. Barrett and J. V. Langmead Casserley, *Dialogue on Destiny* (4s.).

LUTTERWORTH PRESS: Norman Grubb, *The Liberating Secret* (7s. 6d.); H. Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things* (20s.).

MACMILLAN: W. M. Mosse, *A Theological German Vocabulary* (17s. 6d.).

METHUEN: *Langenscheidt's Pocket Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament* (7s. 6d.).

MODERN CHURCHMEN'S UNION: John Wren-Lewis, *Return to the Roots: a study in the meaning of the word "God"* (1s. 6d.).

MOWBRAY: *A Reason for the Hope* (7s. 6d.); A. C. Heath, *A Short Confirmation Handbook* (3s. 6d.); E. L. Mascall, *The Convocations and South India* (1s.).

NATIONAL SOCIETY AND S.P.C.K.: Roland Bailey, *The Crisis of the Rural School* (3s. 6d.).

OLIVER AND BOYD: Robert Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture—A Study of the Theology of the Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Dogmaticians* (20s.); J. K. S. Reid, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Ministry* (5s.); T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* (9s.).

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: J. V. L. Casserley, *The Bent World* (21s.).

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS (London: GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE): Søren Kierkegaard, *On Authority and Revelation—The Book on Adler, or a Cycle of Ethico-Religious Essays* (36s.).

ST ANTHONY'S PRESS: A. G. Dickens, *Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York and President of the King's Council in the North* (2s. 6d.).

ST CATHERINE PRESS: Ruth Anderson Oakley, *Challenge to Heritage* (6s.).

SCHULTE-BULMKE (FRANKFURT AM MAIN): Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, Vol. II, Part I (DM. 18.50).

S.C.M. PRESS: Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, Vol. II (25s.); A. M. Hunter, *The Epistle to the Romans* (8s. 6d.); William Neil, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (8s. 6d.); John Macquarrie, *An Existentialist Theology* (18s.); John Lawson, *Green and Pleasant Land* (7s. 6d.); A. C. Craig, *God Comes Four Times—Advent Addresses* (3s.); Max Warren, *The Christian Imperative* (8s. 6d.); Theodore G. Tappert (Ed.), *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel* (30s.); William Telfer (Ed.), *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa* (30s.); R. S. Lee, *Psychology and Worship* (7s. 6d.); Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (21s.).

SHEED AND WARD: Alan Keenan, O.F.M., and John Ryan, M.B., *Marriage—A Medical and Sacramental Study* (16s.); Étienne Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience* [New edition; reviewed in THEOLOGY, April 1939] (16s.); Jean Mouroux, *The Christian Experience* (16s.).

S.P.C.K.: E. K. Ellis, *Progressive Religion* (3s. 6d.); C. J. Stranks, *The Venerable Bede* (1s. 6d.); C. P. Shedd and others, *History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations* (27s. 6d.); G. L. Prestige, *St Paul's in its Glory* (21s.); Donald Atkinson, *St Boniface: a life in verse* (2s.).

WEARSIDE PRINTING CO.: C. H. G. Hopkins, *Pallion 1874 to 1954: Church and People in a Shipyard Parish* (10s. 6d.).

INDEX TO VOLUME LVIII

JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1955

PAGE

Abundance of the Gospel, The 173
Advent and Theological Language, The 455
ALLCHIN, A. M. 379
American Letter 138
Andrewes and Public Worship, Launcelot 132
Anglican Religious Communities 87

BAKER, J. 252
BARKWAY, L. 43
BEZZANT, J. S. 20
Bishops' Meetings 1
BLIGH, J. 421

BOOK REVIEWS (including Shorter Notices):

Addleshaw, *The Parochial System* (G. R. Dunstan) 160
Ancient Christian Writers, vols. 18, 19 and 20 (W. Telfer) . . . 351
Anson, *Christ and the Sailor* (D. Campbell) 157
Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* (A. M. Allchin) 396
Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education* (W. O. L. Smith) . 318
Baillie, *To Whom shall we go?* (A. R. Vidler) 362
Baillie, *A Diary of Readings* (Editorial) 124
Baptism and Confirmation To-day (Editorial) 203, 347
Barbet, *The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (W. H. G. Reed) . . 36
Bartsch, *Kerygma und Mythos III* (R. H. Fuller) 107
Battenhouse, *St Augustine* (J. Burnaby) 309
Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée* (R. P. Symonds) 193
Bedoyere, *The Layman in the Church* (M. Belgion) 441
Belden, *The Practice of Prayer* (P. Graham) 156
Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (S. B. Rosier) 398
Best, *One Body in Christ* (J. A. T. Robinson) 391
Bicknell, *Thirty-Nine Articles* (Editorial) 123
Blair, *A Creed before the Creeds* (M. Whittaker) 476
Blake, *Creative Suffering* (W. G. Addison) 361
Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (A .R. Vidler) 362
Braley (Ed.), *More Letters of H. H. Henson* (Editorial) . . . 43
Brittain, *Latin in Church* (Editorial) 205
Broadie, *The Chosen Nation* (J. L. Badger) 159
Broomfield, *The Chosen People* (H. A. E .Hopkins) 34
Brown, *The "Sensus Plenior" of Sacred Scripture* (R. P. C. Hanson) . 355
Browne, *Meditations on the Temptations, etc.* (M. G. H. Duke) . . 280
Buckler, *The Perfection of Man by Charity* (J. K. Byrom) . . . 239
Bull, *The Rise of the Prophets* (B. N. Y. Vaughan) 76
Burnaby, *Augustine: Later Works* 477
Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (K. Grayston) 471
Caird, *The Apostolic Age* (Bishop of Leicester) 393
Carpenter, *The Church in England 597–1688* (B. D. Till) . . . 469
Casserley, *Graceful Reason* (H. C. L. Heywood) 439
Chadwick and Oulton (Eds.), *Alexandrian Christianity* 39
Chavasse (Ed.), *The Dialogues of Jesus* (A. H. Dammers) . . . 359
Colquhoun, *Harringay Story* (Anon.) 319
Coulton, *Art and the Reformation* (J. H. L. Waterson) . . . 195
Cox, *A Priest's Work in Hospital* (W. G. Anderson) 361
Cross, *1 Peter* (F. W. Beare) 27
Cunliffe-Jones (Ed.), *The Congregational Ministry* (D. R. Davies) . 394
Curtis, *The Vision and Mission of Jesus* 114
Davidman, *Smoke on the Mountain* (Editorial) 123
Davies, *In Spite of Dungeons* (Bishop of Croydon) 275
Davies, *The Spirit, the Church and the Sacraments* (F. W. Dillistone) 147

PAGE

Davies, *Social Life of Early Christians* (R. A. Markus) . . . 273
Dawley, *Whitgift and the English Reformation* (D. S. Bailey) . . 237
Dawson (Ed.), *The Mongol Mission* (J. R. H. Moorman) . . . 400
Dillistone (Ed.), *Scripture and Tradition* (R. P. C. Hanson) . . 355
Easton, *Early Christianity* (B. Lindars) 316
Ecclesiastical Courts (S. V. Weare) 268
Eddy, *You Will Survive Death* (H. L. Philip) 118
Ehrenberg, *In der Schule Pascals* (M. Belgion) 116
Fairweather (Ed.), *Nature and Grace* 39
Farmer, *Revelation and Religion* (H. E. Root) 16
Farrell, *Only Son* (A. H. Dammers) 359
Fénelon, *Meditations and Devotions* (P. Graham) 156
Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks* (M. Whittaker) . . 38
Fletcher, *Morals and Medicine* (R. H. Hardy) 315
Foster, *An Anglican Year* (Editorial) 42
Fox, *J. Mill and R. Bentley* (H. Cunliffe-Jones) 275
Fuller, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* (W .R. F. Browning) . 110
Gallus, *Interpretatio Mariologica* (C. Quin) 199
Gelin, *The Key Concepts of the O.T.* (O. J. Lace) 475
Glover, *Evangelical Nonconformists* (H. Cunliffe-Jones) . . . 275
Gogarten, *Demythologizing and History* (R. Leaney) 234
Gottwald, *Studies in Lamentations* (D. Jones) 474
Grant, *Free Churchmanship* (D. R. Davies) 394
Green-Armytage, *Portrait of St Luke* (H. Martin) 276
Grigg-Smith, *Church Teaching* (J. L. Badger) 159
Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (R. Oliver) . . . 267
Guitton, *Le Problème de Jésus* (B. M. G. Reardon) 72
Guy, *The Origin of the Gospel of Mark* (J. C. Fenton) 158
Haezrahi, *The Contemplative Activity* (L. M. Schiff) 357
Hales, *Pio Nono* (A. R. Vidler) 30
Hanson, *The Summons to Unity* (Editorial) 42
Harton, *Stars Appearing* (W. G. Addison) 31
Hastings and Nicholl, *Selection II* (R. G. Lunt) 155
Hawkins, *Being and Becoming* (H. C. L. Heywood) 439
Hendenquist (Ed.), *The Church and the Jewish People* (L. M. Schiff) . 153
Heppenstall, *Léon Bloy* (H. W. Lawton) 35
Hesse, *Science and the Human Imagination* (G. N. Walton) . . 151
Hobhouse, *Life to Come* (L. M. Schiff) 321
Hodges, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy* (A. Berry) 271
Hodges, *The Pattern of Atonement* (C. Quin) 478
Hodkin, *The Saving Name* (Editorial) 42
Houselander, *The Stations of the Cross* (M. G. H. Duke) . . . 280
Howse, *Spiritual Values in Shakespeare* (S. L. Bethell) . . . 358
Huelin, *The Steep Ascent of Heaven* (W. G. Addison) 31
Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (D. S. Bailey) . . . 237, 308
Hughson, *Spiritual Guidance* (H. Wileman) 78
Imschoot, *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament* (J. Baker) . . . 278
Iona Community Pamphlets (W. G. Addison) 361
Jackman, *The Numbered Days* (Editorial) 42
Jarrett-Kerr, *André Gide* (H. W. Lawton) 35
Jarrett-Kerr, *Studies in Literature and Belief* (R. T. Davies) . . 75
Jenkins, *Congregationalism* (D. M. Paton) 29
Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (D. E. H. Whiteley) 145
Jewett, *E. Brunner's Concept of Revelation* (H. P. Owen) . . . 198
John of Joinville, *The Life of St Louis* (J. R. H. Moorman) . . 400
Jones, *Growing Spiritually* (H. Wileman) 79
Journet, *The Church of the Word Incarnate* (E. L. Mascall) . . 353
Kew, *You Can Be Healed* (R. S. Lee) 113
Knight, *Esther, etc.* (S. B. Frost) 312
Kooiman, *By Faith Alone* (C. W. Quin) 117
Kraft und Innigkeit (C. W. Quin) 117
Krishnamurti, *The First and the Last Freedom* (L. M. Schiff) . . 154
Lampe (Ed.), *The Doctrine of Justification* (H. Montefiore) . . . 232

PAGE
Langdon-Davies, *Sex, Sin and Society* (D. S. Bailey) 111
Leatherbarrow, *Victorian Period Piece* (A. B. Webster) . . . 279
Lecler, *Histoire de la Tolérance* (C. Jenkins) 311
Lester Smith (Ed.), *The School as a Christian Community* (D. J. Pearce) 33
Lewis, *De Descriptione Temporum* (G. Every) 270
Lindsay, *The C. of E. and the Reformation* (H. F. Woodhouse) . . 80
Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation* (H. F. Woodhouse) . . 121
Love and Violence (M. Jarrett-Kerr) 152
Lubac, *Amida* (J. T. Martin) 479
McArthur, *The Evolution of Christian Worship* (R. P. Symonds) . 193
Maeder, *Ways to Psychic Health* (H. L. Philp) 118
Malevez, *Le Message Chrétien et le Mythe* (R. H. Fuller) . . . 107
Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (H. R. McAdoo) 472
Matthews, *Mr Pepys and Nonconformity* (W. G. Addison) . . . 319
Maxwell, *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland* (G. MacFarlane) 477
Minchin, *Celebration Facing the People* (F. Bennett) 149
Morrison, *Middle East Survey* (C. Witton-Davies) 156
Moule, *Idiom-Book of N.T. Greek* (G. D. Kilpatrick) 105
Moule, *The Language of the N.T.* (G. D. Kilpatrick) 105
Nédoncelle, *Introduction à L'Esthétique* (J. H. L. Waterson) . . 120
Neil, *The Rediscovery of the Bible* (J. L. Badger) 159
Neill, *Christian Faith To-day* (R. R. Acheson) 277
New Bible Commentary (E. L. Randall) 70
Nielsen, *Oral Tradition* (B. N. Y. Vaughan) 76
Nineham (Ed.), *Studies in the Gospels* (Editorial) 283
O'Connor, *Psychology without Tears* (P. Mairet) 79
Only Hope of the World (G. Sansbury) 241
Ordinal and Service Book of the Church of Scotland (T. S. Garrett) . 279
Oulter, *Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion* 477
Parrinder, *African Tribal Religion* (F. C. Synge) 201
Paul Couturier (S. M. Gibbard) 121
Peck, *The Church of Christ* (A. R. Vidler) 278
Percy, *The Heresy of Democracy* (Editorial) 82
Pfeiffer, *History of N.T. Times* (B. Lindars) 349
Pieper, *Fortitude and Temperance* (R. R. Acheson) 358
Pierce, *Conscience in the N.T.* (R. H. Preston) 390
Preiss, *Life in Christ* (Editorial) 124
Puech, *The Jung Codex* (C. S. C. Williams) 350
Quin, *At the Lord's Table* (F. Bennett) 149
Raven, *Christianity and Science* (R. H. Hardy) 277
Reformation and Catholicity (F. C. Synge) 154
Religious Education in Schools (Editorial) 204
Roberts, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God* (B. Lindars) 316
Robinson, *How Jesus Christ Saves Men* (S. Lawton) 114
Robinson, *Job and his Friends* (B. N. Y. Vaughan) 76
St Albert the Great, *Of Cleaving to God* (P. Graham) 156
St Bernard, *On the Christian Year* (J. K. Byrom) 239
St John, *Essays in Christian Unity* (H. Montefiore) 313
St William of Thierry, *Meditations* (P. Graham) 156
Savidge, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (J. F. Walker) 320
Sayers, *Introductory Paper on Dante* (A. C. Scupholme) . . . 74
Schmidt, *John Wesley* (C. W. Quin) 117
Schonfield, *The Authentic New Testament* (Editorial) 204
Schuon, *Spiritual Perspectives and Human Facts* (M. Jarrett-Kerr) . 357
Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation* (W. K. L. Clarke) 266
Sheed (Ed.), *Born Catholics* (G. Huelin) 272
Shepherd, *A Scientist of the Invisible* (H. L. Philp) 118
Sherley-Price (Trans.), *Bede's History* (B. D. Till) 469
Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles* (B. Lindars) 316
Smith, *The Training of a Server* (G. Braund) 322

PAGE

Smyth, *Sacrifice* (J. G. Rowe) 185
Srawley, *The Liturgical Movement* (R. P. Symonds) 193
Snaith, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of 1 Kings* (C. Witton-Davies) . 122
Steuart, *The Development of Christian Worship* (R. P. Symonds) . 193
Stranks, *Dean Hook* (A. C. Scupholme) 160
Stanley-Wrench, *The Splendid Burden* (W. Roberts) 239
Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (B. D. Till) 112
Thornton, *Confirmation* (J. C. Sladden) 68
Thurian, *La Confession* (W. O. Chadwick) 80
Tillich, *Love, Power and Justice* (L. M. Schiff) 37
Tindal Hart, *The 18th Century Country Parson* (W. G. Addison) . 473
Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (S. B. Jackman) . . . 240, 308
Tolstoy, *Tolstoy: A Life of my Father* (L. M. Schiff) 37
Tomlin, *Simone Weil* (M. Jarrett-Kerr) 201
Trethowan, *Essay in Christian Philosophy* (J. Macquarrie) . . . 115
Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth* (H. Montefiore) . . . 232
Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government* (J. R. H. Moorman) . 235
Untersteiner, *The Sophists* (M. Whittaker) 38
Wadsworth, *Yorkshire United Independent College* (A. R. Vidler). . 200
Wand, *The Life of Jesus Christ* (A. H. Dammers) 359
Warren, *The Gospel of Victory* (M. Burdess) 359
Whale, *The Protestant Tradition* (Editorial) 363
Wheeler, *Stations of the Cross* (M. G. H. Duke) 280
Wilson, *An Introduction to Belief* (J. L. Badger) 159
Winslow, *The Eyelids of the Dawn* (A. H. Dammers) . . . 274
Witcutt, *Return to Reality* (Editorial) 42
Woodhouse, *The Doctrine of the Church* (H. E. Symonds) . . . 148
Woodifield, *Catholicism: Humanist and Democratic* (F. C. Synge) . 154
Word of God in the Life of Man (G. Sansbury) 241, 307
Wu, *The Interior Carmel* (J. K. Byrom) 239
Young, *Studies in Isaiah* (D. Jones) 474

Booth-Clibborn, S. 365
Bray, Dr Thomas 92
Burning Fiery Furnace, The 340

Call to Christian Sacrificial Revolution, A 185
Canadian Letter 262
Canon Law Revision 243
Casey, R. P. 459
Church and Ministry (R. M. Benson) 379
Coggan, F. D. 82
Correspondence . . 22, 64, 100, 141, 189, 229, 264, 306, 347, 387, 436, 468
Couratin, A. H. 285

Dammers, A. H. 97
Deacons 403-436
Didache Re-examined, The 12
Dillistone, F. W. 455
Donovan, M. 223
Dowden, G. F. 173

East African Letter 302, 389, 402
Eighteenth Century Undergraduate, An 60
Every, E. 384

Faith in the Healing Miracles 291, 388
"Faithfulness" and "Faith" 373
Feeling and Understanding 179
Fenton, J. C. 51

Gillet, Lev 415
Gray, G. F. S. 216
Greece, Letter from 463

PAGE

HARTFORD, R. R.
Harvest Thanksgiving, A Primitive Christian 345
Has "Biblical Theology" served its Turn? 336
HEBERT, A. G. 5
Historic Episcopate and After, The 373
Homosexuality, The Christian Approach to 205
. 459

IOANNIDIS, B. 463
Ireland, Letter from 345
Is Christianity Intelligible? 124

JACKSON, M. 216, 264
Jehovah's Witnesses 257, 365
Jerusalem, Letter from 384
Joshua Watson: 1771–1855 167

Light from the Modern West? 216, 264
LINDARS, B. 129
LINNELL, C. L. S. 60

MACQUARRIE, J. 179
Marian Martyrs, The 447
MONTIZAMBERT, E. 138
Moses, The Image of 129
MOULE, C. F. D. 405
M.R.A. and Christian Sociology 163

Non-Professional Ministry 257, 365, 468

Ordination Address, An 20
O.T. Theology, The Construction of an 252

Places of Worship 223
Prayer for Busy People 245, 436
Preaching as Corporate Worship 82, 191
Priests and Frequent Communion 323, 443
Pseudonymity in the N.T. 51, 143

REARDON, B. M. G. 5
RECKITT, M. B. 163
Religion and Beauty 43, 145, 231, 306
Revelation and Religion 16
ROCHESTER, BISHOP OF 323
ROOT, H. E. 16
ROSS, J. M. 429
ROWE, J. G. 185

Sacrifice of Praise, The 285, 387
SANDERS, B. G. 340
SEABORN, R. L. 262
SHAW, A. 291
SMITH, R. G. 124
SMITH, T. A. 226
SMYTH, C. 167
South African Letter 57
South Indian Letter 97, 189
STEVENSON, J. P. 330
Story and the Fable, The 330
Studies in Texts 226
SYKES, N. 297, 447
SYMONDS, R. P. 408
SYNGE, F. C. 57

PAGE

THOMPSON, H. P. 92
Tillotson; Sermons of 297
TOWNROE, J. 245
TURNER, H. E. W. 205

VOKES, F. E. 12

WALLS, A. F. 336
WELBOURN, F. B. 302
WELSBY, P. A. 132
WRATHALL, R. L. 87

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